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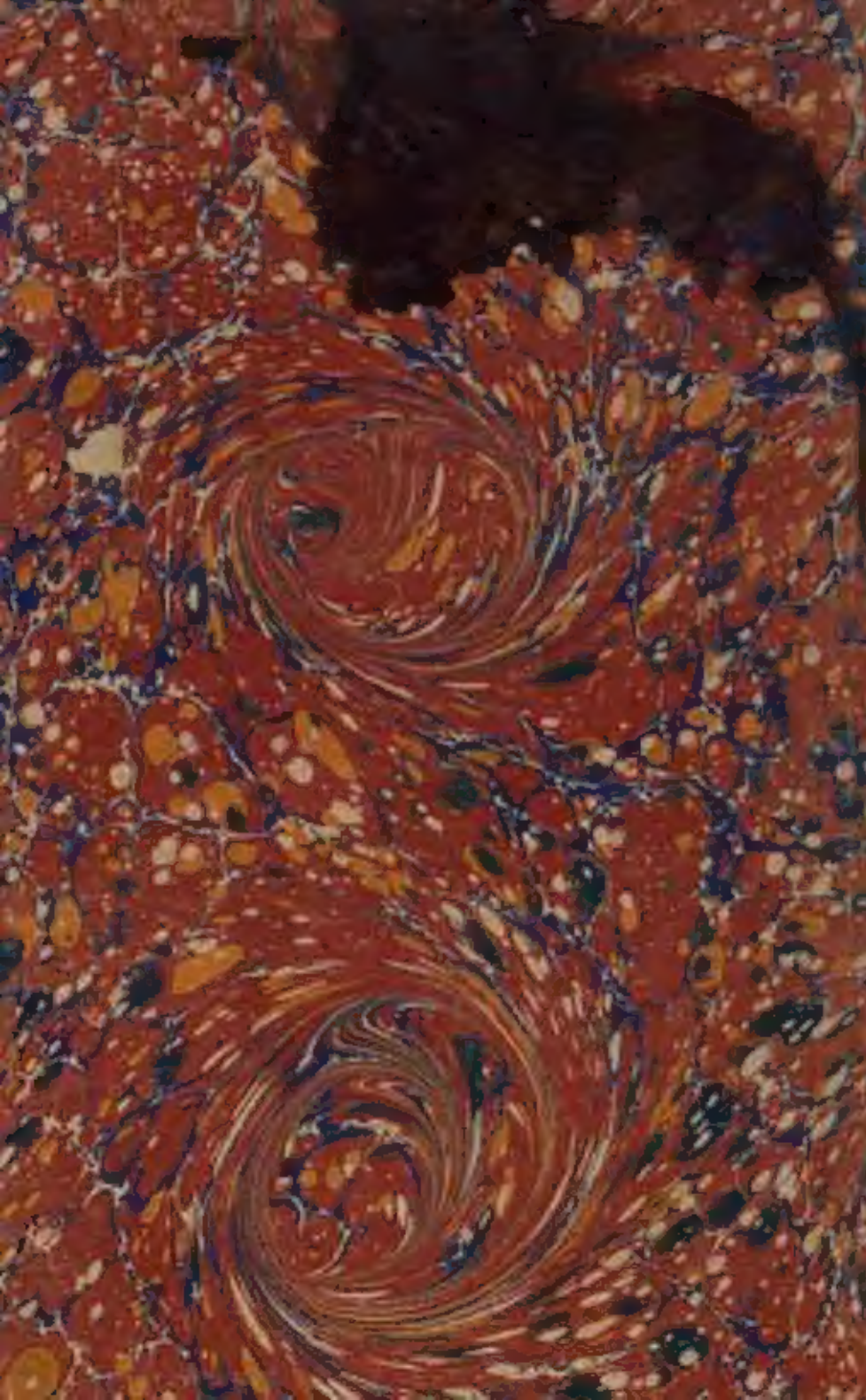
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OF

ANCIENT EGYPT



GEORGE RAWLINSON, M.A.

CANON FARRER OF ANCIENT HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD : CANON OF
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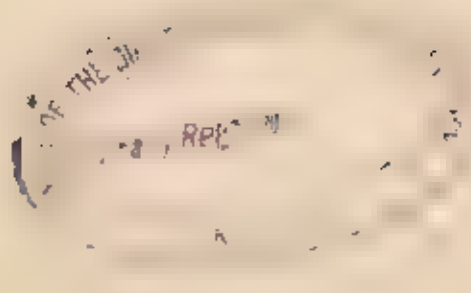
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year B.C. 5702, Under the year B.C. 5613, Manetho, Ixy and Lenormant B.C. 5004, Brugsch Bey B.C. 4455, Lauth B.C. 4157, Lepsius B.C. 3852, Bunsen B.C. 3623 or 3059, Mr. Reginald Stuart Poole B.C. 2717, and Sir Gardner Wilkinson B.C. 2621.¹ It seems as if the best authorities upon Roman history were to tell us, some of them that the Republic was founded in B.C. 509, and others in B.C. 3508. Such extraordinary diversity argues something unique in the conditions of the problem to be solved, and it is therefore remarkable, since the materials for the history are abundant, and include sources of the most unimpeachable character. The best of ancient classical historians has left an important monograph on the history of the Egyptians,² a native writer of high position and intelligence³ wrote an elaborate work upon the subject, whereof we possess several extracts and an epitome; and the monuments discovered in the country and recently deciphered contain a mass of historical information more varied, more abundant, and more curious than has been yielded by the researches made in any other of the great seats of early empire.

The chronological value of these various sources of information is, however, in every case slight. The great defect of the monuments is their incompleteness. The Egyptians had no era. They drew out no chronological series. They cared for nothing but to know how long each monarch reigned, in a man or in a woman, but condescended to carry upon the earth. They recorded carefully the length of the life of each Apis bull, and

¹ Compare the list given by p. 21
Brugsch *History of Egypt* vol. i. ² Herodotus, book ii.
[30* E. T. 1st ed.] with that of ³ Manetho or Schemmytar, priest
the author in his *Origin of Nations* 5* 11, 12 Herodotus.

the length of the reign¹ of each king, but they neglected to take note of the intervals between one Apis List and another, and omitted to distinguish the sole reign of a monarch from his joint reign with others. A monarch might occupy the throne ten years in conjunction with his father, thirty-two years alone, and three years in conjunction with his son—in an Egyptian royal list² he will be credited with forty-five years, although his first ten years will be assigned also to his father, and his last three to his son. Contemporary dynasties, if accepted as legitimate, will appear in an Egyptian list as consecutive, while dynasties not so accepted, however long they may have reigned, will disappear altogether. Only one calculation of the time which had elapsed between a monarch belonging to one dynasty and one belonging to another has been found in the whole range of Egyptian monumental literature, and in that—which is the (apparently) rough estimate of ‘four hundred years’—neither the *terminus a quo* nor the *terminus ad quem* is determined. Generally speaking, the Egyptian monumental lists are not chronological at all; the only one which is so, the Turin papyrus, exists in tattered fragments, the original order of which is uncertain, while the notices of time which it once contained are in many cases lost or obliterated. The latest historian of Egypt says of it: ‘As the case stands at present, no mortal man possesses the means of removing the difficulties which are inseparable from the attempt to restore the original list of kings from the fragments of the Turin papyrus. Far too many of

¹ It would seem that a king did not become a god until he occupied the throne.

² This is the case with I. and II.

I. according to Brugsch (*History* vol. i. p. 214) who is given in the Turin papyrus forty-five years.

the most necessary elements are wanting to fill up the lacunæ. . . . It also appears certain that the long series of the kings, which the papyrus once contained, was arranged by the author according to his own ideas and views.¹ It may be added that the chronological element is altogether wanting in the earlier part of the papyrus, while, as the papyrus itself belongs to the time of the eighteenth dynasty, it furnishes no materials at all either for the chronology or the history of the later kingdom. These many and great defects of the Turin papyrus it is quite impossible to supply from any other monumental source. Occasional corrections of the numbers given in the papyrus may be made from the annals of the kings; but there is no possibility of filling up its gaps from the monuments, nor of constructing from them alone anything like a consecutive chronological scheme, either for the Early, the Middle, or even the Later Empire.² The Middle Empire—that of the Hyksos—left no monuments at all; and from the monuments alone no estimate of its duration can be formed. The Early and the Later Empires left important monuments, but not a continuous series of them; and the result is that, even for the last, a monumental chronology is absolutely unattainable.

¹ Brugsch *History of Egypt*, vol. i. pp. 17–18, 101.

² This is confirmed by most Egyptian scholars, as well as by several public historians. It is clear from the lacunæ of the twenty-third dynasty, that no chronology can be founded on its monuments alone. (See Brugsch, *op. cit.*, p. 101.) Brugsch: *History* is not to be elicited from the monuments; and even its framework, chronology

(*Egypte Place in Universal History*, vol. i. p. 101) Stuart Paine: *The evidence of the monuments with regard to the chronology is not sufficient for Egypt*. *Itinerary of the Nile*, vol. i. p. 565. Lepsius: *Le postérieur de l'Égypte ancienne à l'établissement d'une chronologie certaine ne représente, en quelque sorte, qu'une succession de points sans lien chronologique*. (*Monuments de l'Égypte ancienne*, vol. i. p. 322.)

Under these circumstances it is scarcely probable that modern historians would have made any attempts to reconstruct the chronology of Ancient Egypt, had not certain schemes on the subject descended to them from their predecessors in the historical field, possessing, or appearing to possess, a certain amount of authority. Herodotus, the earliest of classical inquirers into Egyptian history, laid it down that the monarchy had lasted between eleven and twelve thousand years before its destruction by Cambyses.¹ He partitioned out this time among 34½ kings, of whom, however, he mentioned nineteen only by name. Of these one had built Memphis;² another had constructed the Lake Meris;³ three, who were consecutive, had built the three great pyramids,⁴ another had set up the two chief obelisks at Heliopolis,⁵ and so on. His chronology was very imperfect, and not altogether consistent.⁶ Still, it seemed to furnish an outline, and it contained some important synchronisms, as one with the Trojan war,⁷ and another with Semnachid.⁸ It professed to have been derived from the Egyptian priests, men especially well skilled in history;⁹ and it represented, according to the writer, not the views of any one school, but those in which the three great sacerdotal colleges of Thebes, Memphis, and Heliopolis were agreed.¹⁰

Another Greek writer of repute, Diodorus Siculus, while less exact than Herodotus, seemed to furnish

¹ Herod. ii. 100, 142.

² Ibid. § 100.

³ Ibid. § 101.

⁴ Ibid. §§ 124-34.

⁵ Ibid. § 111.

⁶ M. de la Harpe says, lived 900 years before his time (il. 13), Salmo 709

ibid. § 140), yet nine kings intervened to whom his method of calculation would assign three centuries.

⁷ Ibid. §§ 112-20.

⁸ Ibid. § 141.

⁹ Ibid. § 3.

some important additions to his chronological scheme, and some correction of it; since, while—to speak generally—following in Herodotus's footsteps, he occasionally added a king to the Herodotean list, and also frequently noted that several generations intervened between monarchs whom Herodotus represented as immediately succeeding one the other.

Great vagueness, however, must have characterised any chronology which should have based itself simply on the views and statements of these two authors, and, had it not been for the extant remains of a third writer upon the history of Ancient Egypt, it is scarcely probable that any of the complete chronological schemes, to which we have adverted, would ever have been composed, much less published. It happens, however, that, in the third century before the Christian era, a native Egyptian priest, named Manetho, wrote for the information of the Greeks, then recently settled in Egypt as the dominant race, a history of his country, which was professedly complete and in a certain sense continuous, and which contained a vast number of chronological statements, though not (so far as appears) anything like a definite chronology. Manetho's work was not so much a history of Egypt as a history of the Egyptian kings, whom he divided into thirty dynasties, which he treated of separately, apparently without distinctly marking whether they were contemporaneous or consecutive.¹ Against each king's name was set the

At the commencement of his account of Manetho's dynasties, Eusebius says: "If the names of some kings are in excess, we must remember that there were, perhaps, at one and the same time several kings in Egypt; for we are told that the Thinites and

Memphites reigned simultaneously, and likewise the 13th, 14th, and 15th dynasties, and others also. Moreover, some seem to have reigned in one place, some in another, each dynasty being assigned to its own station, so that several kings did not rule successively, but differ-

number of years that he reigned; and at the close of each account of a dynasty these years were added together and the total sum given.¹ The imperfection of the method was twofold. Joint reigns were counted as if they had been successive in the summation of the years of a dynasty,² and, contemporary dynasties not being in many cases distinctly marked, the sum total of all the years of the dynasties was greatly in excess of the real period during which the monarchy had lasted. In early times attempts were made to correct the serious chronological errors thus resulting. Eratosthenes reduced the 2,500 years³ of Manetho's 'Old Empire' to 1,070,⁴ and a later writer, probably Ptolemy, cut down the 5,000, or more, of the entire thirty dynasties to 3,555,⁵ but it does not appear that either writer possessed trustworthy data for his corrections, or reached them in any other way than by arbitrary interpolation and a free use of conjecture. Scholars of the present day have probably quite as ample materials for criticising Manetho's scheme as either Ptolemy or Eratosthenes, but are better aware of, or more ready to acknowledge, their insufficiency for the purpose.

ent kings reigned at the same time in different places' (142 n. l. and 143¹ § 2). The expression, 'we are of it' is a special expression in such a way that it seems did not limited a vent the theory of contemporary co-reigns in Egypt, but this is not necessarily valid, and does not enable us to determine whether Manetho or some source to which his history was once known had reached, he referred to.

The sum total does not generally agree with the text, but it is at the very least a useful preliminary to it was arrived at by simple addition.

¹ See Brugsch, *History of Egypt* vol. i. p. 120. In ed. *Manetho* it thus and in Brugsch's text, make him despair of putting together a chronological table of the Old Egyptian Empire.

² This is the number produced by adding together the years assigned to the first fourteen of the Manethoan dynasties by Manetho. The Armenian version raises the number to 4,221.

³ See Brugsch's *Egypt*, vol. i. pp. 110-115.

⁴ Ibid. p. 101. Compare Manetho, *Fragment Hist. Græc.* vol. i. p. 50.

It adds to the difficulty of eluting a satisfactory chronology from Manetho's work, that we possess it only in epitomes, and that these epitomes are conflicting. Two writers of Christian times, Africanus, probably in the second century, and Eusebius in the fourth, professed to give a synopsis of Manetho's dynasties, with his numbers. The actual work of Africanus is wholly lost; that of Eusebius has come down to us, but only in an Armenian version. While, however, the originals of both were still in existence, they were read by a Byzantine court official, George the Syncellus (b. B.C. 800), who embodied the main statements of both writers, as he understood them, in his 'Chronography.' This work is extant; and thus we have what are in fact three professed epitomes of Manetho, one by Africanus, and two rival claimants to represent the original epitome of Eusebius—the Armenian translation, and the recension of George the Syncellus. If the numbers in the three epitomes corresponded, we should be tolerably sure that we possessed Manetho's actual views; but they do not correspond—on the contrary, they differ very considerably. The total number of years assigned by Manetho to his thirty dynasties is given, in the Eusebius of the Syncellus, as 4738, in the Armenian Eusebius as 5205; in the Africanus of the Syncellus as 5374.¹ The total assigned to a dynasty is very rarely the same in the three versions,² the difference between the totals sometimes amounting to hundreds of years. The result is that we do not know with any exactness what Manetho's real numbers were.

¹ Results slightly differing from those are given by Hansen. *Egypte*, vol. i. p. 20. Differences in the MSS. and in the statements made by the Syncellus make absolute ac-

cure impossible.

² In not one out of the thirty dynasties is the number exactly the same in all the three versions.

much less what were his real chronological views, if he had any.

Finally, it has to be borne in mind that Manetho's chronological statements, even when fully ascertained by the agreement of all the epiphanes, are not unfrequently contradicted by the monuments, and consequently rejected by all modern critics.¹ This occurs even in the later part of the history, where the dates are, as nearly as possible, certain. If Manetho could make mistakes with respect to the reigns of kings who were removed from his time by no more than three centuries, how can he be implicitly trusted with respect to reigns at least twenty centuries earlier?

The entire result is: (1) that Manetho's general scheme, being so differently reported, is in reality unknown to us; (2) that its details, being frequently contradicted by the monuments,² are untrustworthy; and (3), that the method of the scheme, the general principles on which it was constructed, was so faulty, that, even if we had it before us in its entirety, we could derive from it no exact or satisfactory chronology.

Thus the defect of the monuments is not made up to us by the chronological data which are supplied by authors. These latter are copious; but they resolve themselves ultimately into statements made by the Egyptian priests for the satisfaction of the Greeks and Romans upon points on which they felt no interest themselves, and on which their records did not enable

¹ E.g. Manetho, according to all the three versions, assigned six years only to Neco, the Pharaoh-Necus of Herodotus. Herodotus (*apud* *Strabo*) assigns him sixteen years; also this is regarded as setting the matter

the numbers of the Turin papyrus differ so greatly from Manetho's, showing that the Egyptians had no definite, generally admitted scheme. As this is a very important point, the details are given in the Appendix (Note A).

² It is especially remarkable that

them to give exact information. The Egyptians themselves, it can never be too often repeated, 'had no chronology'.¹ It never occurred to them to consider, or to ask, how long a dynasty had occupied the throne. The kings dated their annals by their regnal years,² and it is probable that the dates of a king's accession and of his demise were commonly placed on record by the priests of his capital city, so that the entire length of his reign could be known, but no care was taken to distinguish the years of his sole reign from those during which he was associated with his predecessor. Neither were contemporary dynasties distinctly marked, as an ordinary rule. In one case alone did Manetho apparently note that two of the dynasties which he mentioned reigned simultaneously.³ Yet all modern critics, or almost all, believe that several other instances of contemporaneity occur in his list.⁴ The extent to which the practice of entering contemporaneous or collateral acts in an apparently continuous line has been carried is disputed, and the divergence of the modern chronologies is due principally to the different views which have been taken on this subject. Lermont makes two out of the thirty dynasties collateral,⁵ Brugsch, five,⁶ Bunsen, seven;⁷ Wilkinson and Stuart

¹ Lermont, *Histoire Ancienne de l'Égypte*, vol. i. p. 323.

² *Records of the Past*, vol. ii. pp. 19, 27; vol. iv. p. 27; vol. vi. pp. 23, 43, 44, &c.

³ Manetho's seventeenth dynasty consisted of no other number of T. but was supposed to have whom he represented as reigning into by order during the space of 141 years, &c. and (*Chronograph*, p. 41).

⁴ Even Lermont admits that, in one part of his work, 'Manetho's year compte des basarite n'est manifestement le commencement des chronographes est formé' (volume

avec les listes des dynasties collatérales, mais qu'on même temps, dans les listes qui suivent, on voit, au contraire, une période continue de quelque nombre qui forment contemporaines. *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne de l'Égypte*, vol. i. pp. 250-1.)

⁵ The seventh with the ninth and tenth (old p. 242) and the thirteenth with the fourteenth (p. 261).

⁶ *History of Egypt* (1st ed.), vol. i. pp. 157, 160, 184, vol. ii. pp. 313-4.

⁷ *Egypt's Place*, vol. ii. pp. 100, 208, 210, vol. iv. pp. 310, 500, 510, 52.

Poole, twelve.¹ Until some fresh light shall be thrown upon this point by the progress of discovery, the uncertainty attaching to the Egyptian chronology must continue, and for the early period must be an uncertainty, not of centuries, but of *millennia*.

When the difficulties of Egyptian chronology are stated in this broad way, it may seem at first sight that the entire matter is hopeless, and that historians of Ancient Egypt had best drop out the chronological element from their narratives altogether and try the experiment of writing history without chronology. But it is not necessary to adopt quite so violent a remedy. The difficulties of the Egyptian chronology are not spread uniformly over the entire period covered by the history; they diminish as we descend the stream of time, and for the period occupied by Manetho's 'New Empire' are not much greater than those which meet us in Assyrian, Phœnician, or Jewish history, where it is the usual practice of historians to grapple with them and reduce them to a *minimum*. We propose, therefore, to endeavour, in the remainder of this chapter, to mark the limits of the uncertainty with respect to each of the three periods into which it has been customary, from the time of Manetho, to divide the history of Ancient Egypt.

I. With respect to the latest period, or that of the New Empire. This period includes the last thirteen dynasties of Manetho, or, if we terminate the history of Ancient Egypt with its conquest by Cambyses and the Persians, it reaches from the beginning of Manetho's eighteenth to the close of his twenty-sixth dynasty, containing thus the history of nine dynasties. These are the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth, Thetan;

¹ See the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 384, 3rd edit.

the twenty first, Tanite, the twenty second, Bubastite; the twenty third, Tanite, the twenty-fourth, Sate, the twenty fifth, Ethiopian, and the twenty sixth, Sate, like the twenty-fourth. The chronology of this last-named dynasty is very nearly exact. Cambyses conquered Egypt in the year B.C. 527.¹ Psamtik III., whom he killed, had reigned only six months;² his father, Amasis, forty-four years;³ Apries, the predecessor of Amasis, probably, twenty-five years;⁴ Psamtik II., the father of Apries, six years;⁵ Neco, his grandfather, sixteen years, and Psamtik I., the father of Neco, fifty-four years⁶—total, 145 years. Thus Psamtik I., the founder of the dynasty, ascended the throne in B.C. 672. His immediate predecessor, Tuthotak, reigned twenty-six years,⁷ and we may therefore place his accession in B.C. 698. Thus far the dates are, as nearly as possible, certain. They rest mainly upon Egyptian sources, but are confirmed to a considerable extent by Herodotus, and accord with the Scriptural dates for Pharaoh Hophra (Apries), Pharaoh-Nechoh (Neco), and Tuthotak.⁸

¹ Cambyses died in B.C. 521, having reigned six years in Egypt. (Plutarch, *History of Egypt*, c. 10.)
² He died at 45, when his most vigorous days were completed, in B.C. 527, not in 526, as commonly supposed.

³ Herod. ii. 141-142. Manetho ap. Sacerd. *Chronograph.* vol. i. p. 75 v.

⁴ Herod. ii. 10. Manetho (according to Africanus) gave the same number, but according to Eusebius forty-two years only.

⁵ So Herod. ii. 101 and Manetho, according to Eusebius. But, according to Africanus, Manetho's number was nineteen.

⁶ This is proved by one of the Apries *stelæ* (Mariette, No. 40, Brugsch, vol. ii. p. 247 1st ed.), which also makes certain the six-

teen years of Neco.

⁷ Another of the *stelæ* (No. 23 of Mariette) inscribes the reign of Psamtik I. to fifty-four years.

⁸ The fifty-four years of Psamtik I. were counted from the end of the twenty-sixth year of Tuthotak as appears from *stelæ* No. 37 of Mariette, which is given also by Brugsch, vol. ii. p. 257 1st ed.). Manetho assigned to Tuthotak only eighteen or twenty years.

⁹ Pharaoh-Hophra appears in Jeremiah as the Egyptian satrap, next to Nebuchadnezzar, and as contending with him after the time when Jeremiah was taken into Egypt. This was about B.C. 605, which would be the twelfth year of Apries, according to the numbers in the text. Pharaoh-Nechoh (No. 22

From the date of Tarbakh's accession, we are thrown almost wholly upon Manetho. He seems to have ascribed to the two kings, who, with Tarbakh, made up the twenty fifth dynasty, either twenty-two or twenty-four years¹—which would bring the accession of the dynasty to B.C. 720 or B.C. 722—a date confirmed by the synchronism of Satabak (Sevakh or So) with Hoshen.²

The same dynasty preceding this consisted of but one king, Bocchoris, who reigned, either six or forty-four years³—the uncertainty now beginning to take larger dimensions. His accession may have been as early as B.C. 760, or as late as B.C. 716. To the two dynasties preceding the twenty fourth Manetho assigned a period of 204 years,⁴ which would make the date for the accession of the twenty second B. Basto dynasty B.C. 975 or B.C. 973. Now this dynasty was founded by the great king Sheshonk, or Shishak, who received Jeroboam as a fugitive,⁵ and warred with Rehoboam.⁶ It is a remarkable confirmation of the Egyptian numbers that, in the margin of our Bible, the date for the

with Jeroboam of Israel, and caused the death of the king, was the accession of Satabak, according to the *Great Book of Kings*, at B.C. 720. Satabak reigned for 22 years, 48 to 702. Tarbakh is in Scripture contemporary with the great expedition of Sennacherib against Hezekiah, which, in the earlier part of the Assyrian reign, probably about 705.

Two years according to Africanus preceded the accession of Bocchoris, according to the *Great Book of Kings*, at B.C. 720. Satabak reigned for 22 years, 48 to 702.

1. The *Great Book of Kings* at B.C. 720. Satabak reigned for 22 years, 48 to 702. Tarbakh is in Scripture contemporary with the great expedition of Sennacherib against Hezekiah, which, in the earlier part of the Assyrian reign, probably about 705.

Hist. of Egypt, vol. i, p. 71. Satabak was called by the name of Bocchoris, and the capture of Samaria, which was in the year 721.

2. Six according to the *Manetho* of Africanus (*Antiquities*, vol. i, p. 71). Satabak was called by the name of Bocchoris, and the capture of Samaria, which was in the year 721.

3. Six according to the *Manetho* of Africanus (*Antiquities*, vol. i, p. 71). Satabak was called by the name of Bocchoris, and the capture of Samaria, which was in the year 721.

4. The *Great Book of Kings* at B.C. 975 or B.C. 973.

5. *1 Kings* x. 15.

6. *1 Kings* x. 15.

expedition of Sushak against Rehobam, calculated from Hebrew and Babylonian sources only, is placed in the year B.C. 971. This synchronism lends a strength and a support to the Egyptian chronology thus far, from which we may reasonably conclude that we are still upon *terra firma*, and have not entered into sand-land.

To the dynasties intervening between the twenty-second and the nineteenth Manetho is said to have given either 265, 302, or 308 years,¹ thus bringing the accession of the twentieth dynasty to A.C. 1283 as a *maximum*, or B.C. 1200 as a *minimum*. The former of the two dates is, on the whole, preferable.²

The nineteenth dynasty of Manetho held the throne—according to him—either a little more or a little less than 200 years.³ It appears, however, by the monuments, that this number is exaggerated; and moderns are not inclined to allow to the dynasty a longer period than about 160 years,⁴ which would give for its commencement either B.C. 1360 or B.C. 1443.

Yet greater doubt attaches to the duration of the eighteenth dynasty. Manetho's names and numbers are here in extreme confusion, and are quite unreconcilable with the monuments.⁵ The time which he

Two hundred and sixty-five, according to Africanus (byzant.) pp. 72-4, but 302, according to the Africanus, Jacobites, and others according to the *Fabulous of Strabo* (p. 74-5).

² Minimums are generally to be preferred to maximum numbers in the Egyptian lists, on account of the tendency to swell the totals by counting in the names of kings who were at first associated with co-regents. But the evidence of the monuments at this point tends to show that even the highest estimate of Manetho's numbers is

here insufficient.

³ Manetho's total, according to Africanus, was 200 years, according to Jacobites, 104 years (byzant.) pp. 72-3.

⁴ Wilkinson in the author's *History* vol. i. pp. 404-71 and also Brugsch, *History of Egypt* vol. i. p. 241 et seq. Lelewel, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i. p. 321, &c.

⁵ The four kings named Thothmes have but one certain representative in Manetho's list, viz. Thutmose, the Ose or Osir Amunophis (Amunhotep) are reduced to two. Horus,

assigned to the dynasty was, according to Eusebius,¹ very nearly three centuries and a half, according to Africanus, a little more than two centuries and a half;² according to Josephus, rather less than that period.³ Moderns vary in their estimates between 180 years and 300,⁴ but incline, on the whole, to about 200. This number, if we accept it, will produce for the accession of this great and glorious dynasty, and the inauguration of the New Empire, the year a.c. 1643, for which, however, Dr Birch substitutes b.c. 1600, and Dr Brugsch, b.c. 1700.⁵ There are writers who place the date as low as b.c. 1525.⁶ Thus the limits of uncertainty in the 'New Empire' extend, at the utmost, to somewhat less than two centuries.

II. With respect to the Middle Empire, or period of the Shepherd kings. The limits of uncertainty are here very much increased. Manetho, according to Africanus,⁷ gave three dynasties of Shepherds, the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth of his list, who reigned respectively 284, 316, and 151 years, making the entire period one of 751 years. Josephus reduces this total to 511 years,⁸ and the dynasties, apparently,

reach to the last king of the dynasty, is increased by six or seven years, as 'Cabele' is interpolated between Ashmes and Aramaph I. Manetho's numbers are therefore increased for some of the kings & excess for others. If the dynasty be closed with Horus the sum total will not amount to 200 years, according to any computation, and according to Manetho of the Africanus tradition will be only 126 years.

¹ Ap. Euseb. *l. c.* i. p. 73, 4. The summation of the reigns is given as 347 years, though the actual sum of the years assigned to the kings is at the most 326 years.

² Two hundred and sixty-three years (ap. Syncell. pp. 62, 60, 70).

³ Two hundred and forty-six years, if we take Rimenes I as beginning the nineteenth dynasty (Joseph. *c. Apion.* § 14).

⁴ Mariette and Lezouart give 241 years (*Manuel d'Égypte Ancienne* v. 1. p. 44). Brugsch, 280 years (*History of Egypt* v. ii. p. 141). and Wilkinson, 260 years (*New Assen's Hieroglyphs* v. ii. p. 32-33). Hansen, 221 years, &c.

⁵ Birch, *Ancient Egypt* p. 78. Brugsch, *History of Egypt* &c.

⁶ August Pacha in Dr. Siegfried's *Dictionary of the Bible*, and see Euseb. *l. c.* i. p. 5.

⁷ Ap. Syncell. *Chronograph.* vol. i. p. 61.

⁸ *Contr. Apion.* § 14.

to two. Eusebius allows only a single Shepherd dynasty, and assigns it no more than 103 years.¹ Thus the various reporters of Manetho differ here enormously, varying between one century and nine centuries and a half.

It happens, however, that in this case the monuments come to our aid. There is one which shows Apepi, or Apophis, to have been the last of the Shepherd kings, and contemporary with a certain Rasesenen,² who undoubtedly preceded Amosis, the founder of the eighteenth dynasty. There is another which not obscurely indicates that Set or Sutes was (as Manetho also witnesses)³ the first of the Shepherd kings, and also gives his date as 400 years⁴ before some year in the reign of Rameses II. Now the only dynasty of Shepherd kings whose names Manetho gave began with an 'Sutes' and ended with an 'Apophis,' according to both Africanus and the Armenian Eusebius; so that there are strong grounds for believing that the rule of the Shepherd kings really began and ended with this dynasty,⁵ to which Manetho assigned 284 years, according to Africanus, or, according to Josephus, 250 years and ten months. These numbers are probably, both of them, in excess, since the dynasty consisted of only six kings, whose united reigns can scarcely have

¹ *Chron. Eccl.* i. 20. (7) up to Rev. ed. *Chronograph.* vol. i. 62 A. The two agree exactly.

² See *Reverend's* *Exposit.* vol. viii. pp. 3, 4. *Holman's* *History of Egypt* vol. i. pp. 39-41, *ibid.*

³ All the reporters of Manetho agree that he said Sutes (Σούτες) the first of the shepherd kings.

⁴ See the *Table* (p. 400) *given in the Records of the Past*, vol. ix. pp. 154-5 and compare *Holman's* *Ancient Egypt*, pp. 70-6, and 120.

⁵ Cf. *Strickland's* *Chronograph.* pp. 48-9. It is true that Josephus designates the name of only Apophis, calling Apepi the fourteenth king of the 21st king, but Africanus and the Armenian Eusebius together must be taken to outweigh any authority.

⁶ This point has been well argued by Canon Cook in the *Speaker's* *Chronograph.* vol. i. part i. 147, 8. His arguments seem to me quite irresistible.

covered more than two centuries. Such an estimate produces for the accession of Sates the probable date of *B.C.* 1843, which is between four and five hundred years before the probable year for the accession of *Rameses II.* (about *B.C.* 1410).

If the four hundred years of the *Tunis* inscription be regarded as an *exact* number, which is a possible view, the only alterations required in the dates hitherto suggested would be the following. We should have to shorten the periods assigned to the seventeenth and eighteenth dynasties by twenty years each; to make the date for the accession of the eighteenth dynasty *B.C.* 1623 instead of *B.C.* 1643; and that for the accession of the seventeenth or Shepherd dynasty *B.C.* 1803 instead of 1843. The four-hundredth year from the accession of Sates will then fall within the reign of *Rameses II.*

If the views here propounded be accepted, the additional uncertainty attaching to the dates of the 'Middle Empire,' beyond that which attaches to the earlier part of the 'New Empire,' will be one of some sixty or eighty years only. As, however, there are still writers of repute, who assign to the Shepherd kings a period of above five centuries, practically the additional uncertainty to the unknown must be admitted to be one of about three centuries. The 'New Empire' commenced its existence not earlier than *B.C.* 1700, and not later than *B.C.* 1520, the 'Middle Empire' is thought by some to have commenced as early as *B.C.* 2200, by others as late as *B.C.* 1720. The uncertainty has now risen from two centuries to five.

III. With respect to the 'Old Empire,' or native kingdom anterior to the Shepherd invasion. It is in this portion of Egyptian history that the main doubts

and difficulties with respect to the chronology occur, and that the uncertainty changes from one measured by centuries to one of *millennia*. Manetho assigned to his first fourteen dynasties terms of years, which, if the dynasties were in all cases consecutive, would make the whole period covered by them one of 2905 years. Mariette Bey, who rejects altogether the idea of there being any contemporary dynasties in Manetho's list, a little diminishes this amount by corrections of a few of the numbers, and makes the 'Old Empire' occupy a space of 2,500 years.¹ Brugsch Bey, who admits, but admits sparingly, the theory of dynasties being contemporary, and substitutes for Manetho's estimates of reigns a calculation by generations,² makes a further deduction of nearly four centuries from Manetho's sum total, and gives the old native kingdom a duration of 2,400 years. Baron Bunsen, adopting the 'contemporary' idea to a much larger extent than Brugsch, and accepting a calculation of Erosotomones by which he supposes the real length of the 'Old Empire' to have been correctly fixed, reduces it to the comparatively moderate term of 1,976 years giving for its commencement b.c. 3059.³ Lastly, Mr Stuart Poole and Sir Gardner Wilkinson, by still further carrying out the 'contemporary' theory, effect a farther reduction of about four centuries, assigning to the first native king-

¹ See the table given by Lefort-
mont on the authority of Mariette
(*Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i.
p. 321.).

² *Hist. of Egypt*, vol. i. pp. 83-4
vol. ii. pp. 311-16, 1st ed. Chrono-
logicals founded upon generations
are by the nature of the case, ex-
ceedingly uncertain, and become a
source of large error, if the ordinary

length of a generation in the time
and country for which the calcu-
lation is made is improperly estimated.
Brugsch allows 29½ years for the
Egyptian generations which is an
over-estimate if at least one-third
a correction of this amount would
reduce his 2,400 years to 1,980.

³ *Egypt's Place*, vol. v. p. 62.

dom no longer a period than about six centuries and a half, whereby the commencement of monarchy in Egypt is brought down to about B.C. 2700, or a little later.¹ We have thus for the period of this First Era an uncertainty extending to above 2,000 years, the maximum term assigned to it by recent writers being 2,700 years, and the minimum 637.

There appear to be at present no means of terminating this controversy. The monuments belonging to the ancient kingdom cluster mainly about four dynasties—the fourth of Manetho, the fifth, the sixth, and the twelfth. A few belong to the eleventh and the thirteenth. There are none which can be positively assigned to kings of the first, second, or third; and thus we have no direct proof of those dynasties having existed. Egyptian monumental history commences with Seneferu,² who seems to correspond to Manetho's Sosis, the first king of the fourth dynasty. The fourth and fifth dynasties were certainly consecutive; and the sixth probably followed the fifth. The seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth may have been—probably were—collateral. None of the kings belonging to them have left any monuments; Manetho has not condescended to record their names; and it cannot therefore but be suspected that they were really secondary kings, contemporary with each other, or with the monarchs of the eleventh dynasty perhaps even with the early monarchs of the twelfth. Again, the fourteenth dynasty is as unknown as the seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth, and must be placed in the same category. The monuments thus confirm six only of Manetho's

¹ See the authors *Herodotus*, vol. ii. pp. 240, 1 and 240, 2. *Herodotus*, *Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. i. p. 616.

² Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 62, let col. Brugsch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 31, De Rouge, *Recherches*, &c. p. 339.

first fourteen dynasties; and from seven to nine centuries would perhaps be a sufficient space to allow to these six.

On the other hand, the Egyptian monuments are of such a character that they scarcely ever *prove* any two kings to have been contemporary, and it is therefore quite open for an historian to maintain that all the dynasties are both historical, and consecutive, in which case the conclusions of Mariette would be reasonable. The support given by the monuments to some of Manetho's early dynasties being taken to corroborate the whole, and the entire fourteen dynasties being viewed as consecutive, 2,800 years, or an average of 200 to a dynasty, will not be manifestly excessive. It is probable, therefore, that Egyptian chronologists will always be divided into the advocates of a longer and a shorter chronology, the estimate of the former class for the commencement of the era manly exceeding that of the latter by something like two thousand five hundred years.

Exact chronology is, beyond all doubt, a most important adjunct to history, and, where the foreign relations of a state form a main element in its life, and the parallel histories of distinct countries have to be taken into account, exact chronology, or an approach to it, is a necessity for the proper understanding of the course of affairs, and of the bearing which events in one country had upon those in another. But, where a nation is isolated, or where its history at any rate is unmingled with other histories, and flows on in its own separate channel without contact with any neighbouring stream, the need of exact chronology is much less, and a considerable vagueness in the dates may be tol-

rated. It is possible to have a very fair knowledge of the general character of a river—of the direction of its course, the hue and quantity of its waters, the equableness or variableness of its flow, even of the countries upon its banks—without exact acquaintance, or anything more than a very vague notion, of its length. It is the same with history. If we can obtain a clear knowledge of the condition of a people at different periods, if we can represent the different phases of its life in the order of their occurrence, if we can—to some extent, at any rate—perceive and appreciate the causes which produced the various alterations, we may present an instructive picture of them—compose an agreeable and useful history—even though we can only conjecture vaguely the length of time during which each condition lasted. It is this which an historian of *early Egypt* must aim at effecting; and if he succeeds in effecting it, he must be satisfied. The chronological riddle is insoluble. He must set it aside. But he needs not therefore to set aside that immense mass of material, possessing the highest interest, which the toils of travellers and explorers, and the patient labours of philologists, have accumulated during the last century. The 'Old Empire' of Manetho is a reality. It rises and moves before us in the countless tombs of Ghizeh, Saqqarah, and Beni Hassan, on the rocks of Assuan and the Wady Magharah, on the obelisk of Heliopolis, and in numerous ancient papyri; its epochs are well marked: its personages capable in many cases of being exhibited distinctly, its life as clearly portrayed as that of the classical nations. And that life is worth studying. It is the oldest presentation to us of civilized man which

the world contains, being certainly anterior, much of it, to the time of Abraham; ¹ it is given with a fineness and minuteness that are most rare; and it is intrinsically most curious. A picture, therefore, of the Old Empire may well be required of the historian of Ancient Egypt, and will be here attempted, notwithstanding the vagueness of the chronology.

For the 'Middle Empire' an approximate chronology will be given. The author is strongly convinced of the shortness of the 'Shepherd' period, and cannot bring himself to assign to it a duration of above two centuries. He regards it as commencing about B.C. 1840 and terminating about A.C. 1640.

The dates for the 'New Empire' will be found gradually to advance towards absolute exactness. Its commencement, circ. B.C. 1640, is doubtful to the extent already allowed,² but the uncertainty of the chronology diminishes with each successive dynasty, and when we reach the twenty-second, it scarcely exceeds twenty years, since the synchronism of Sesontaris with Rehoborn fixes the commencement of that king's reign to some date between B.C. 975 and B.C. 955. From the accession of Tahakah the chronological difficulties almost disappear, and thenceforth exact dates will take the place of those vague and merely approximate ones which are necessary for the earlier periods.

¹ See historian of Egypt places in Egypt as belonging to the time of Abraham before the twelfth, or the later part of the eleventh dynasty, of the eighteenth dynasty.

² See above, p. 15.

One (Jepson) regards his reign as

CHAPTER XIII

THE OLD EMPIRE.—THE FIRST BEGINNINGS

Uncertainty of the Succession of the Early Kings. Official Order, determined after the Expulsion of the Shepherd Kings not to be viewed as historical. The List, as given by the chief Native Authorities. Doubts as to the Existence of Menes. Remarks on the Name Athotus. Hierarchy mentioned in the Ritual. Indistinctness attaching to Merilaph. Variations in the Lists. General Character of the Names. The traditional Nature of the Monarchy worthy and valuable. Condition of the Egyptian People at this early time. Character of their Art and of their Religion. Principal Features of their Life.

Αντιστρέφει οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ἀντὶ τῆς ἀντιθέσεως ἐπὶ τῇ μετέπειτα ἐκείνης.
—THUCYD. I. §1.

WHEN the great monarchs of native Egyptian blood, who bore sway in Egypt after the expulsion of the 'Shepherd' kings, resolved, for the 'honour of their excellent majesty,' to set forth before the eyes of their subjects the long list of their royal predecessors, and for this purpose ransacked such remains of the 'Old Empire' as had survived the 'shipwreck' of the state brought about by those foreign invaders,¹ they undertook a task for which it may be doubted whether there existed any sufficient materials. Egyptian civilisation had been annihilated by an avalanche of barbarians;²

¹ See Lamormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i. p. 800: 'Nous assistons donc, sous la quinziesme et seiziesme dynastie, à un nouveau naufrage de la civilisation

Égyptienne.'

² Ibid. p. 383. 'La civilisation Égyptienne, d'abord comme autonome par l'Égypte, reprit ainsi la descente dans la Thébaïde, &c.

the whole country had been devastated; tombs had been rifled, papyrus burnt or torn to shreds, even the stone monuments partially defaced and injured, how should the succession of kings from father to son during a space of even seven centuries be recovered after so complete an overthrow and destruction of all that had gone before? Royal names, rendered conspicuous by the *cartouches* enclosing them, existed no doubt in large numbers, as they exist to this day, on monuments which had escaped the wear and tear of time and the ravages of the Tatars of the South; ¹ but what clue could there have been to their true order and proper arrangement? what means of discovering the real relationship of the kings who bore them? Egyptian monarchs did not, ordinarily, glorify their predecessors, or even put on record the name of their true father. They merged their earthly in their Heavenly parentage, and spoke of Horus, or Ra, or Ammon, or Nith, as their fathers, totally ignoring the real sire from whose loins they had sprung. Private persons, in the inscriptions upon their tombs, might sometimes indicate the succession of two or three monarchs under whom they flourished, but this would be a very partial and incomplete means of arriving at the truth, and it would be altogether wanting for the earliest period. ² It would seem that there must have been a large amount of arbitrariness in the order which was assigned to the names recovered from the monuments, as there certainly was in the number of the ancestors which the different monarchs claimed to themselves. ³

¹ See Lepsius's *Monum.*, vol. i. p. 302. 'Les Inscriptions dans le Bas-Egypte omises des Tatars' on *Cairo*, so manuscript, &c.

² No names of kings have been

found on the tombs of individuals anterior to the time of the fourth dynasty. De Rougé, *Recherches*, &c., pp. 12-13.

³ Thothmes III. exhibits sixty-

Still a certain order, presenting fewer variations than might have been expected, seems to have been arrived at, and to have become, at any rate, the officially recognised one: and this order, though it has no claims to be regarded as historical, must, under existing circumstances, be placed before the reader, both as being the basis on which various 'Histories of Egypt' are built, and as that which is supported by the largest amount of authority. It is not certain that all the kings on the list are real personages, or that some of those who are did not reign contemporaneously; but on the whole there is ground for believing that the great majority of them were kings who actually bore sway in some part of Egypt before the erection of the pyramids, and though the bare names tell us little, and the traditions which belong to them are almost worthless, yet a certain interest attaches even to mere names of so ancient a date, and for the full understanding of the later native kingdom it is important to know what its belief was as to that more ancient monarchy from which it claimed descent, and with which it strove to establish in every way a solidarity and a continuity.

The subjoined is a tabular arrangement of the early Egyptian kings, according to the chief native authorities. It is, in its principal features, based upon the table drawn up by M. de Rouge in his interesting '*Recherches*,' but embodies corrections which he subsequently made, and a few alterations of names from other sources.

one of his in the 'Hall of the Ancestors' at Karnak (Bunsen's *Egypt*, vol. 2, p. 44), Sen I. exhibits seventy-seven, though living only direct gene-

rations later (De Rouge, p. 14); while Ramess II., the son of Seti I., exhibits only fifty-two (Bunsen, vol. 2, pp. 60-1).

The Early Kings

Names according to Africanus	Fragments of the Turin Papyrus	New Table of Abydos (chart I.)	Table of Sacchar (Table of Babylon II.)
Dyn. I			
1 Menes	Menes	Menes	
2 Athotatis	A	Tota	
3 Keutephis	A	Ato	
4 I	A	Ato	
5 I	H	Hesophi	
6 Makhosis	Makhosis	Makhosis	Makhosis
7 Nechemphes	A	A	
8 Bimakhosis	. . . . .	Kubutu	Kubutu
Dyn. II			
9 Batthas	. . . . .	Hutao	Neterhu
10 Kamephis	. . . . .	Kakou	Kakou
11 I . . . . .	. . . . .	Hemmer	Hemmer
12 Teta	. . . . .	I	I
13 Seneferu	Seneferu	Seneferu	Seneferu
14	Seneferu	Seneferu	Seneferu
15 Neferkara	Neferkara	Neferkara	Neferkara
16 Neferkara	Neferkara	Neferkara	Neferkara
17	Neferkara	Neferkara	Neferkara
Dyn. III			
18 Neferkara	Neferkara	(Teti)	Babi
19	Neferkara	Neferkara	Neferkara
20	Neferkara	Neferkara	Neferkara
21	Neferkara	Neferkara	Neferkara
22	Neferkara	Neferkara	Neferkara
23	Neferkara	Neferkara	Neferkara
24	Neferkara	Neferkara	Neferkara
25	Neferkara	Neferkara	Neferkara
26	Neferkara	Neferkara	Neferkara
Dyn. IV			
27	Seneferu	Seneferu	Seneferu

A few remarks only need be made on these names. In Menes, or M'nes, the supposed first king—the Men of Herodotus,¹ the Men-es of Manetho,² and the Men-as of Diodorus³—we have probably no real personage,⁴ but a

















¹ Herod. ii. 102. Herodotus does not actually give this form, but his native M'nes and his successive M'nes imply it.

² Ap. Syncell. *Chronograph.* vol. i. p. 54 n.

³ Herod. Sic. i. 45.

⁴ Dr Birch says with equal

judgment and force: 'Nothing known to have been made at the time of Menes remains, and he must be placed among those 1 rulers of monarchies whose personal existence a severe and enlightened criticism doubts or denies' (*Ancient Egypt*, p. 25).

heros eponymus, the mythic *establisher* of the kingdom,¹ and founder of the first capital, Memphis. The Egyptian name, which the Greeks made into Memphis, is *Men-nefer*,²                

The fifth king in the list of Seti I., who appears also in a fragment of the Turin papyrus, the king Hesepti or Hesept, ~~###~~ (read) Usaphnathus by Manetho), is mentioned in several copies of the 'Itinal,' or 'Book of the Dead,' as the author of two of its most important chapters.¹ He is also mentioned in a papyrus of the date of Ramesses II. as a king anterior to Senta.² The context rather implies that he was immediately anterior,³ but the expression used is to some extent doubtful. If admitted to have this meaning, it would show that, as early as Ramesses II., there were different traditions as to the succession of the ancient monarchs.

The sixth king, Meribapt, the Malabius of Manetho,⁴ has the singular honour of being mentioned in the Turin papyrus, in the list of Seti I., and in that of Sarcarah, as well as in the catalogues both of Manetho and Eratosthenes. The list of Sarcarah places him at the head of the whole series of kings, as if he had been a monarch of more than common importance. But nothing is recorded of him, either by Manetho or by any other ancient writer, to justify or account for his being held in peculiar honour; no mention is made of him in the 'Itinal,' nor has his name been found on any monument of the Early Empire.

¹ CHS. XIV and CXXX. See De Rouge, *Recherches*, &c., p. 30, note.


² Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 57, 1st ed.





³ The papyrus runs as follows — 'This is the beginning of the collection of receipts (including prayers). It was discovered in a very ancient papyrus, enclosed in a wrapping, under the feet of the god Anubis,

in the town of Sochois, at the time of the reign of his majesty the deceased king, Hesept. After his death it was brought to the majesty of the deceased king Senta, on account of its wonderful value' (ibid. l. c.).

⁴ Ap. Syncell. *Chronograph.* vol. i. p. 64, c.

⁵ De Rouge, *Recherches*, &c., pl. i, No. 1.

In the place of the Semempses of Manetho,¹ who is perhaps Eratosthenes' Pemphos,² there appears in the Turin papyrus a name greatly defaced, which M. de Rouge is inclined to read³ as Ati, . The New Table of Abydos has an entirely different representation, the *cartouche* containing only a single hieroglyph, which is the figure of a man standing, and holding in his hand the sceptre of a god.⁴ It is scarcely possible that this single figure can represent the trisyllabic name of Manetho. That name has been identified⁵ with a king, (Ati-hem) Sememet, who appears in the lists of his ancestors given by Thothmes IV. at Karnak, but is ignored by the Turin papyrus, as well as by Seti I. and the author of the list of Saccarah. Here again we have evidence of a variety in the traditions as to the primitive times current under the early dynasties of the New Empire.

Proof of the same is also furnished by the names Butai, , and Teu, , in the New Table of Abydos, which are replaced by those of Neter-bu  and Behi  in the list of Saccarah and the Turin papyrus,⁶ as well as by the substitution of Ranebka and H-m in the Saccarah list for Setes and Nefekara in the Abydos one. The supposition that monarchs of this early period bore two names, which De Rouge makes,⁷ is wholly gratuitous, and quite contrary to the

¹ Ap. Syncell. List.

² *Ibid.* p. 93. c.

³ *Recherches sur les monuments qu'on peut attribuer aux six premières dynasties*, p. 29.

⁴ *Ibid.* pl. A. No. 7.

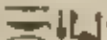


⁵ By Hansen see his *Egypt*, vol. II. p. 61). Dr. Birch appears to

take the same view, when he says (*Ancient Egypt* p. 20) that the name of Semempses is found both in the Egyptian and the Greek lists.

⁶ De Rouge, *Recherches*, &c., pp. 21, 24.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 21.

monumental evidence, which shows no double name until Ra-n-user of the fifth dynasty.¹

Of the entire list of names down to Seneferru it is to be observed, that they have an archaic and (as Dr Brugsch expresses it) a 'plebeian' character.² 'They do not at all resemble the Pharaonic names of succeeding epochs.'³ Consisting uniformly of a single appellation, encircled by a single elliptical line, or *cortouche*, they are, with few exceptions, short, simple, severe. They express moreover, for the most part, ideas of force and terror.⁴ -Teta, 'he who beats'—Hani, 'he who strikes'—Kakan, 'the chief bull,' literally 'the bull of bulls'—Scuta, 'the terrible'—into the titles of the later kings the names of divinities, whom they specially worshipped—Ra, Ammon, Thoth, Ptahah, Shabak, Hor, Set—usually enter. Among the names of these early monarchs there are but three which are composed with the appellation of a god. Neferka-Sokari, , the tenth in the table of Sa-carah, whose name occurs also in a fragment of the Turin papyrus, Nefer-ka Ra, , the predecessor of Seneferru, according to the New Table of Abydos, and Ranbka, or Nebka-Ra , the fourteenth in the Sa-carah list, the predecessor of Hani, have a divine element in their names, the first of these names being compounded with the god Sokari, a form of Ptahah,⁵ and having the signification of 'perfect through Sokari,' the second meaning 'perfect through Ra,' and the third 'lord through Ra.'

It cannot be said that any facts are really known of these monarchs. Tradition made Menes the founder of

¹ That Ra-n-user was also called An will appear in its proper place.

² *History of Egypt*, vol. I. p. 65, 1st ed.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 50.

⁵ See above, vol. I. p. 135.

Memphis,¹ and his son Teta the builder of the royal palace in that city, and a writer of anatomical books.² Hesepti, or Hesep, was regarded as the author of some chapters of the religious work known as the 'Book of the Dead.'³ Under Semampses, or Sementet, who was perhaps a king of this period, there was said to have been a great plague.⁴ In the time of Batan (Boethus) the earth gaped near the city of Bubastis, and swallowed up a vast number of persons.⁵ Kaksu (Kacerlos) introduced the worship of the Apis-bull at Memphis, the Mnevis bull at Heliopolis, and the sacred goat at Mendes. Bannuter (Banchris) made a law that the crown should be allowed to descend to women.⁶ Nefer ka-Sekari was a giant;⁷ and under Nefer ka-Ra (Nephercheres) the Nile flowed with honey for eleven days.⁸ Under Nesherôphes (Neaka?) the Egyptians, who had revolted, made their submission on account of a sudden increase in the moon's size, which terrified them.⁹ Tosorthrus (Sar-sa?) was worshipped after his death as the Egyptian Asclepius (Aemhept) on account of his medical skill; he paid attention to inscriptions, and was the first to construct buildings with polished stone.¹⁰

Such are the traditions which have alone come down to us with respect to these early monarchs. Their value would be but slight, even were they to be depended on; as the case stands, it is difficult to assign them any value at all.¹¹ They come to us, almost

¹ Herod. ii. 99. Diodorus, however, ascribes the foundation to a later king, Echoreus (i. 102).

² Manetho ap. Syncell. *Chronographi* vol. i. p. 64, c.

³ See above, p. 26.

⁴ Manetho, l.c.

⁵ Ibid. p. 64, d.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid. p. 66, a.

⁸ Ibid. p. 65, a.

⁹ Ibid. p. 66, b.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Brugsch says 'Here ends,

without exception, from Manetho, who wrote two thousand years after the time, and who, in his accounts of far more recent reigns, is frequently contradicted by contemporary monuments. No doubt Manetho found these traditions in Egyptian authorities; but his credulity was great.¹ His critical discernment small, his diligence in research, less than might have been expected.² To rely on Manetho is to put trust in a writer too negligent to care for truth, and, had he cared, too uncritical to discover it.

It is a relief to turn from the scanty accounts I fit us of (perhaps) apocryphal kings to the condition of the Egyptian people at this early period. The people certainly existed; and though not very much may be known of their condition, yet an interest attaches to all that is known very greatly beyond that which belongs to kings and dynasties. We propose to consider their condition under the three heads of art, religion, and mode of life, meaning manners and customs.

The history of Egypt will always be, to a very large extent, a history of art. Art had, so far as we know, its birth and earliest development in the valley of the Nile, and grew up there by a natural and gradual progress, without being affected to an appreciable extent by any extraneous influences. The earliest of the arts to start into being was no doubt architecture; and its first employment, there as elsewhere, was in lay-

according to the Manethonian writing, the information and fable, half true of the first kings of Egypt. *It touches us little*. We are still waiting for the dawn of the chamber of the ancestors of the most ancient kingdom to be opened to us! (*History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 62, 1st ed.)

¹ He hovered in the Nile flowing with honey in Meas some discovered by a Hippopotamus, and in a boat spanning.

² A very small amount of inquiry must have convinced Manetho that Seso regned sixteen and not six years.

construction of habitations capable of affording shelter from the solar rays, and from the occasional, though not very frequent, showers of hail and rain.* The earnest of the Egyptian houses seen to have been of wood, which was easier to work than stone, and which was furnished in tolerable plenty by the palm groves that grew luxuriantly in ancient times, probably along the whole course of the river. In many of the character of the houses are furnished by some of the most ancient tombs,² which, though constructed in stone, bear traces, like the tombs in Lycia,³ of a pre-existent wooden architecture, which has impressed its forms upon the alien material. The rounded mass of stone which forms the lintel above the doorways of the early tombs⁴ can have derived its shape from nothing but a reminiscence of the unsawn palm stem which served the purpose in the primitive mansions; the long thin pilasters and architraves are clear imitations of wood-work, and the latticed windows, most difficult to construct in stone, are such as would be produced by the simplest possible arrangement of wooden bars. We may gather from the tombs that the early houses were not without ornament. Ascendate pilasters and depressions, adorned with a species of panelling, extended (it would seem) along the entire façade of a house; the door was placed in the middle, and was narrow for its height; over the door was a latticed window of a considerable size, which gave light probably to a central hall, while the rooms on either side of the hall were also lighted by windows, which were small, and

* See above, vol. i. p. 45.

² Compare the illustrations in vol. i. pp. 184 and 192.

³ See below, *Travels in Asia Minor*, pls. opp. pp. 220 and 238, *Lycia*,

pls. opp. pp. 128, 129, 130, &c.

⁴ Well represented by Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. ii. pl. d. pls. 3, 3, 18, &c.

placed high up in the walls. The roof would appear to have been flat, and was formed probably by palm-trees split in two, and then covered with a coating of mud or cement.

From the idea of a house for the living the Egyptians passed rapidly, and at a date so early that we cannot possibly fix it, to the idea of a house for the dead. Their religious notions required that this last should be as permanent as possible; and it seems certain that, long before houses were built of any other material than wood, stone was carefully quarried and squared to be employed in the construction of the 'eternal abodes' of the departed. The earliest sepulchres now extant are stone buildings, looking externally like small houses.¹ They stand isolated, like the monuments in our churchyards, each consisting of an oblong



Tomb near the Pyramids.

chamber or chambers, enclosed with massive walls, which slope externally at an angle of 75° or 80° , but internally are perpendicular. A single door, in no way concealed, gives entrance into the interior, and it is in the ornamentation of this doorway that we have the representations of houses in wood. The chamber is

¹ *Diod. Sic.* i. 51.

² *Fergusson, History of Architecture*, vol. i. p. 192.

roofed over with large flat stones; and, if it exceeds a certain size, the roof is supported internally by a massive square stone pier. In this simple and primitive construction we have the germ of the pyramid, which grew up out of it by a number of slight changes.

One of these changes belongs, by general consent,¹ to the period of which we are speaking. In the 'tower' or 'pyramid of Meydoun'² we see an enlarged edition of one of these early tombs, differing from them in greatly increased size and solidity, as well as in the novel feature of superimposed stories in a retreating series, the entire number of the stories being three. The Meydoun pile has a granite of its own. It is placed upon an isolated rocky knoll of some considerable height, and standing in the middle of the grassy plain, 'which, green as an emerald, stretches eastward to the holy stream,'³ it has a proud and imposing appearance, and in almost any other country than Egypt would be considered a monument of high architectural importance. The base measures 200 feet each way, and the height of the edifice is little short of 125 feet. The solid contents amount to nearly three millions of cubic feet.

The great 'pyramid of Sa-arah,' as it is called, which is also thought to belong to these early times,⁴ shows a further advance in architectural skill and power on the part of the primitive builders. Like the Meydoun building, it was a tower in stages—the number of the stages being six—and, as in the Meydoun

¹ See Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 29, Brugsch *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 90, lat. ed. *Encyclopædia History of Architecture*, vol. i. p. 280.

² See also vol. i. p. 144, lat. ed. and for a representation of the 'tower,' or 'pyramid' see p. 145.

³ Brugsch, *loc. cit.*

⁴ Lepsius, *Monument d'Égypte Ancienne*, vol. i. p. 302. Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 25. Brugsch, *Égypte Ancienne*, vol. i. p. 180. Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 90, lat. ed.

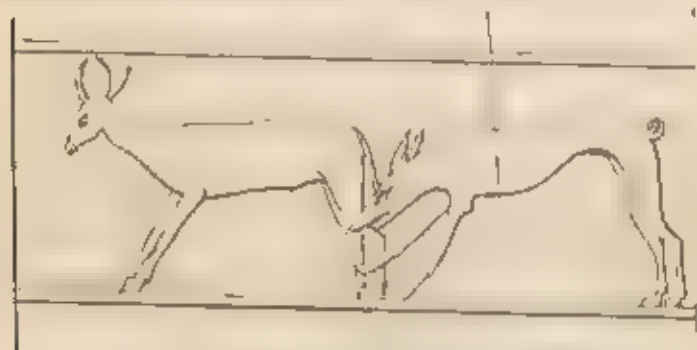
building, the external walls sloped inwards at a slight angle. This edifice is even more imposing than that of Meydoun,¹ since it rises to a height of nearly 200 feet, and covers an area of 135,000 square feet, instead of one of only 40,000. It is emplaced upon a rocky plateau, which has an elevation of nearly a hundred feet above the Nile valley, and is a conspicuous object on all sides.

Such, so far as appears, was the furthest point to which architectural skill was carried by the Egyptians of these early days. They did not erect a true pyramid. They did not venture to build on perpendicular stages. They did not give to their work the minute care and finish of later times.² Their loftiest creations were less than half the height of those designed and executed subsequently. Gently, tentatively, the builders advanced from the small to the great, always aiming at solidity and permanence, comparatively careless of ornamentation, and looking to obtain the impressive effect, at which they aimed, by size and massiveness rather than by elegance or beauty.

Glyphic art was also known, and practised within certain limits, at this early period. The most ancient tombs are adorned internally with the sculptured forms of the owner, his wife, his children, his attendants, represented in the low relief peculiar to Egypt. These forms have all the ordinary defects of Egyptian drawing—the hard outline, the stiff limbs, the ill-made hands, the over-long feet—but are not greatly inferior even to those of the best epoch. There is a more marked inferiority in the representations of animals, which are not only stiff but ugly, not only conven-

¹ For a representation ~~see above~~ *near to meutis* ~~see p. 1-61~~
vol. i. p. 167, and for the exact ² Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, i. c.

tional but absurd.¹ Grouping seems to be an unknown idea, each figure stands by itself, or is followed by its counterpart, the same form being repeated as often as is requisite in order to fill up vacant spaces on the walls of the sepulchral chambers. Sculpture 'in the round' was also attempted by the primitive artists; and five or six statues exist which the best Egyptologists assign to a time anterior to that of the Pyramids.² Of these M. Lenormant remarks that, 'on studying them, we ob-



Long and antelope from a tomb near the Pyramids.

serve a rudeness and indecision of style, which make it clear that at this period Egyptian art was still trying to find the right path, and had not yet formed itself fully.'³

A single mosaic, supposed to be of the same early date, tends to raise the art of the time to a higher level. Brugsch says of it 'The double picture, a little smaller than the natural size, shows a man and his wife in a dignified attitude sitting by the side of one another in a chair of the form of a die. The bril-

¹ See the tomb of Amten, whence the above illustration is taken. Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. iii. pt. 6, pl. 6.

² Those of Sops and his sons, discovered near the Pyramids and now in the Museum of Louvre, two others, 'with a European cast of

features,' found at Meydeun, and forming a part of the same collection, and a statue of Amten in the Museum of Boulaq. (See Brugsch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 361.)

³ *Manuel d'Égypte Ancienne*, vol. i. p. 333.

lency of the eye—imitated in shining crystal and white ivory and dark ore in a masterly manner—has all the appearance of life.* On the whole, he accounts the work ‘a marvel of art, venerable from its antiquity, and exquisite in its workmanship.’†

With respect to the religion of this period, the evidence that we possess is rather negative than positive. The twenty-six names of kings supposed to belong to it reveal the worship of two gods only, Ra, and Ptah, or Sekari. The name of a functionary, Hoth-hotep,‡ reveals the worship of Thoth. With regard to the other gods we have no monumental evidence to show whether at this time they were worshipped or no. Certainly, temples of any pretension were not erected, or we should have some remains of them. The oldest existing Egyptian temple belongs to the reign of Chephren§ (Shafra), the builder of the Second Pyramid: and, though the classical writers ascribe temples to earlier monarchs,¶ and several certainly existed in Khufu’s time,‡ yet their fabric must have been slight, and the religion which consisted in the public worship of gods must have been secondary. No doubt Ptah, Ra, and Thoth—possibly Osiris, Isis, Athor, Horus, and Set‡—received some worship, and there may have

* *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 66, 1st ed.

† Lencornet, *l.c.* Birch, *l.c.*

‡ Anubis is mentioned as a god of the early times by a writer of the age of Ramses II. (Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 64, 1st ed.)

§ For a description of this temple, see vol. i. pp. 215–16.

¶ Herod. ii. 99. Diod. Sic. i. 45, 46, &c.

‡ An inscription given by M. de Rouge in his *Recherches* (pp. 43–5) attributes to Khufu the erection of

a temple to Isis, and speaks of ten plaques of Isis and of the sphinx, who is identified with Horus (Harmachis), as never any existing.

¶ Anubis (identified with An) is mentioned as having a temple in the same inscription (p. 47). Horus and Set are mentioned as objects of veneration to Khufu’s mother. The religious practices of the primitive times is not proved by these texts, but is not likely to have been very different.

been buildings dedicated to them as early as there was monarchy in Egypt; but the real practical religion of the primitive period was that worship of ancestors, whereof we have spoken in the previous volume¹ as an important portion of Egyptian religious practice. The sepulchral chambers above described were the true temples of the period; here the worshippers met from time to time for sacred ceremonies; here hymns were sung, offerings made, and services conducted, from which both the dead and the living were expected to derive advantage. The worshippers regarded their sacrifices, libations, and offerings as contributing to the happiness of the departed, and looked to receive from them in return spiritual, or perhaps even temporal, benefits. They viewed their ancestors as still living, and as interested in the condition and prospects of their descendants; they regarded them as invested with a quasi-divinity, probably addressed their prayers to them, and, like the Chinese, appealed to them for help and protection.

Hence it would seem that from the first there lay at the root of the Egyptian religion the belief in a future life, and of happiness or misery beyond the grave. Embalming was practised long before the construction of the Pyramids, and mummies were deposited in stone sarcophagi, with a view to their continued preservation.² The 'Ritual of the Dead' had, we are told, its origin in these times;³ and, whatever subsequent refinements may have been introduced, it would seem to be certain that the fundamental conceptions of the continuance of the soul after death, its passage through the Lower World, and its ultimate reunion

¹ See vol. i. pp. 423-4.

² See p. 34.

³ Birch, *Guide to British Mu-*

³ See above, p. 23.

with the body which it once inhabited, must have been entertained by large numbers from the very first beginnings of the nation. Whence these doctrines were derived, who can say? There is no human name which stands in the history of Egyptian opinion where the name of Zoroaster stands in Persia, or that of Moses in the history of the Jews. The composition of the 'Book of the Dead' was ascribed, in the main, to the gods.¹ How it happened that in Egyptian thought the future life occupied so large a space, and was felt to be so real and so substantial, while among the Hebrews and the other Semites it remained, even after contact with Egypt, so vague and shadowy, is a mystery which it is impossible to penetrate. We can only say that so it was, that, from a time anterior to Joseph, or even Abraham, the children of Mizraim, in their bright and fertile land on either side of the strong-flowing Nile, thought as much of the future life as of the present, that their religious ideas clustered rather about the tomb than about the temple; and that their worship, domestic rather than national, though it included among its objects some beings regarded as wholly divine, was directed especially towards the spirits of those who had been their 'brethren in the flesh,' and were thought to have a natural interest in the welfare of persons sprang from their loins.

There was another worship, also of a practical character, which belongs almost certainly to this early period—the worship of the reigning monarch. Each king was regarded as an incarnation of Horus,² was

¹ Compare vol. I. p. 186. and 'the victorious Horus.' Dr
² See also the earliest king of Egypt, *Recherches*, pp. 83, 88,
 whom we possess any monument. Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. iii. pt. ii.
 called himself 'the crowned Horus,' p. 2, n.

assigned a priest or priests,¹ and a temple, or at any rate a chapel. He was styled 'the victorious Horus,' 'the divine lord,' 'the ever-living.'² His subjects worshipped him, not only during his life, but after his death. The priesthood once instituted in a king's honour was maintained ever afterwards; sacrifices were offered to the deceased sovereign at stated intervals; and in this way each occupant of the Egyptian throne, unless some revolution occurred, continued to be held in perpetual remembrance.³

Life in Egypt under the early kings was simpler and less varied than it became at a later period, but not very markedly different. Towns⁴ existed at the farthest date to which our materials carry us back, and the distinction between town and country life was a necessary consequence. In the town dwelt the monarch, the courtiers, the royal attendants, the artisans, the shopkeepers; in the country, large landed proprietors, their servants, agricultural labourers, cowards, perhaps boatmen. Landed property was hereditary,⁵ and an upper class was thus maintained, which regarded itself as a nobility. Royal blood often flowed in the veins of these persons, who are frequently said to be *Suten-nekh*, 'grandsons of a monarch.'⁶ Their wealth, which was considerable, enabled them to maintain a numerous household, which consisted both of male and

¹ De Rougé, *Recherches*, pp. 30, 31, &c.

² Ibid. p. 31. *Records of the Past*, vol. i. pp. 9, 10, &c.

³ Priesthoods of Menes and Teti continued down to the destruction of Egyptian independence. Senus, Rameses, and other kings are also found to have had priests attached to their worship long after their decease. De Rougé, *Recherches*,

p. 31. Heugsch. *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 47, 1st ed.

⁴ I am or This and Men-nefer or Mem-nefer, are mentioned with the earliest of the traditions. The early towns belong mainly to the necropolis of the latter city.

De Rougé, *Recherches*, p. 40; Birch, *Ancient Egypt* p. 41.

⁵ De Rougé, pp. 41, 44, &c.

female servants, and reached in some instances the number of thirty¹ Little was spent by them upon personal display. The dress of the upper class, even considerably later than the time whereof we are speaking, was wonderfully simple and unpretending, presenting little variety, and scarcely any ornament.² The grandees wore indeed an elaborate wig, but that was indispensable for the sake of cleanliness;³ otherwise his attire is almost unparalleled in ancient times for simplicity. A short tunic, probably of white linen,



Head of Egyptian noble (early period).

reaching from the waist to a little above the knees, was ordinarily his sole garment. His arms, chest, legs, even his feet, were naked, the use of sandals not being as yet known. The only decoration which he wore was a chain or riband about the neck, on which was suspended an ornament like a socket.⁴ In his right hand he carried a long staff or wand, which he seems to have used as a walking-stick. Such was the

¹ See Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. iii. pt. ii. no. 37. The exact number of attendants represented on the walls of the sepulchral chamber of Amen is thirty-three.

² Compare the entire series of

drawings in the *Denkmäler*, vol. iii. pt. ii., which descend as low as the time of the fifth dynasty.

³ Herod. ii. 98.

⁴ See the above woodcut.

great noble's ordinary apparel, his 'undress' costume, to use a modern expression; when he ventured beyond this, and allowed himself to indulge in the refinement of 'dress,' he exchanged his tunic for a somewhat scanty robe reaching from the neck to the ankles, replaced his chain and locket by a broad collar, and, having adorned his wrists with bracelets, was ready to pay visits or to receive polite company.¹ The costume of his wife, if he happened to be married, was not a whit more elaborate. She wore her hair long and gathered in three masses, one behind the head, and the other two in front of either shoulder. On her body she had a single garment—a short gown or petticoat reaching from just below the breasts to halfway down the lower joint of the leg, and supported by two broad straps passed over the two shoulders. Her feet were bare, like her husband's, and, like him, she encircled her wrists with bracelets.² We have no representation or account of the houses in which these persons resided. Probably they were plain in character; but their furniture was not unartistic. The chairs on which both sexes sat—or rather stood, for they had no back—were supported on legs fashioned after those of animals, and the extremity of the seat on either side terminated in a lotus flower.³ Tables seem to have been round, and to have been supported by a single pillar in the centre. Couches are not represented, but they probably differed little from those of later times; and there had already been invented the peculiarly Egyptian piece of furniture known as the 'head rest'.⁴

¹ Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. iii. pt. i. pl. 3 (upper figure).

² *Ibid.* pl. 7. Compare pls. 20. 21. &c.

³ *Ibid.* pls. 3 and 6.

⁴ See above, vol. i. p. 400, and compare Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. iii. pt. ii. pl. 4. In the latter, where an attendant carries a head-rest in his left hand.

The animals domesticated at this early period were, so far as appears, the dog, the cow, the goose, and perhaps the antelope. Antelopes were, however, *also* hunted,¹ and it is possible that those which appear to be tame² were wild ones taken young and kept as pets. Pet animals seem to have been much affected, and included the jekbu, the hare, and the porcupine.³ The only animals that can be proved to have been killed for food at this date are the ox and the goose; but we may suspect that fish, whereof several species appear in the hieroglyphics of the time, were also articles of common consumption, as they certainly were in later times.⁴ Bread no doubt was the main staff of life; and attendants carrying baskets, which appear to contain loaves, are common.⁵

The artisan class of the time must have included weavers, workers in metal, stone-cutters, masons, carpenters, upholsterers, wagon-makers, embalmers, and probably boat-builders. Stone-cutting was an art very necessary in a country where the only timber tree was one which was valued both for its shade and for its fruit. For the shaping of blocks the saw and the chisel must have been very early invented; and a metalurgy of too small merit must have formed and hardened the implements whereby materials such as those employed by the Egyptian builders and sculptors were worked with ease and freedom. Granite, indeed, was not made use of at first; a compact limestone supplied its place,

¹ See the woodcut on page 37.

² Lepsius, pl. 4. (*Antelopes*), which make it strange to find tame ones, as shown in the arms of an official, who bring them to their master.

³ *Ibid.*, pl. 3.

⁴ *Supra*, vol. 1, p. 563.

⁵ Lepsius, pls. 5 and 7. Loaves also a pair above the cartouche in an, where Amen is seated, as at Astart. They are small and are arranged in two baskets (p. 5).

and contented the primitive constructors of tombs and towers. But it was not long ere Egyptian skill and inventiveness succeeded in finding means to subdue even the most intractable materials, and we shall find the Pyramid kings employing freely such stubborn substances as syenite, araggonite, red granite, and green basalt.

To conclude this brief review of a time on which the Egyptian remains throw but a dim and uncertain light, it must be noted that the hieroglyphical system of writing was already not only invented, but elaborated, the interior of the sepulchral chambers being covered with long inscriptions, which give the titles and employments, describe the domains and other possessions of the deceased, if not with the copiousness and verbiage of a later date, at any rate with considerable fulness of detail. The hieroglyphs themselves are somewhat rude and wanting in finish, but the language is said to be completely formed; the different kinds of hieroglyphs, symbolic, determinative, phonetic, are all in use; the values of the characters are fixed, grammatical modifications are indicated by signs which for the most part continued in use, and, in a general way, it may be said that the hieroglyphical writing reveals itself to us in the monuments of the first dynasties with all that complication which belonged to it down to the last day of its existence.¹

¹ Lepsius, *Monum. d'Hist. anc.* t. i. p. 243. "I am convinced," says Lepsius, "that the hieroglyphical system was already determined prior to the existence of the oldest monuments of the pre-dynastic period."


CHAPTER XIV.

THE PYRAMID KINGS.

Persons of Senoferu, Khafu, Safta, Menkaura, and Amenot of the Fourth Dynasty, and of Usrket Sahuru, Kaka, Nefersakhara, Itanefer, Menkaurer Pthahotep or Anu, and Usnu, of the Fifth. General Condition of Egypt under these Kings Progress of Art - of Religion - of Civilization and the Arts of Life.

Another legend is recorded. Herodotus 2. 100.

HISTORICAL light dawns, and truly historic personages begin to move before us, with the accession of the dynasty which Manetho styled 'the fourth.' Manetho placed at the head of this dynasty a king whom he called Sosis, and though the name itself corresponds rather with the 'Sas' of the Turin papyrus, and of the name of Sacarrah, yet, as the place assigned to him makes him differ from the predecessor of Saphis (Khafu), it would seem that we may properly identify him with Senoferu, who beyond all doubt occupied that position.¹

Senoferu  appears to have succeeded Hani, but to have exceeded him in the extent of his dominions.² He had the character of a good and beneficent king, and it is in harmony with this description of an Egyptian writer, that we find him in his lifetime taking the

¹ The succession of Khafu to Senoferu is shown most clearly in the tomb of Mortefsa, who was a son-in-law of the latter's wife of each. (De Rouge, *Recherches*, p. 27.)

² In the Turin papyrus we read 'Is' the majority of King Hani and L.' the minority of King Senoferu became a benefactor to the entire country' (ibid. p. 20.)

title of *neb mat*,¹ or 'lord of justice,' which was not one commonly borne by Egyptian sovereigns. Seneferu is the first Egyptian monarch who has left behind him an inscription,² and the first of whom we have monumental evidence that he made war beyond his own borders, and established the power of Egypt over a foreign country. Thus he was great both at home and abroad; he dispensed justice to his subjects with such wisdom and impartiality as to acquire a character for benefi-



Taltet of Seneferu at Wady Magharah.

¹ See the woodcut above, where the third title, — — — — — has this meaning.

² See Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, pp. 30-1. 'It is with the fourth Memphite dynasty that the history of Egypt begins to assume greater importance, the events recorded are no longer dependent for their remembrance on the glosses of court

notice of Greek epistomists, but the monuments of the country contain exact and contemporary accounts of the events which took place.' *Le Rouge, Recherches*, p. 30. 'Par ses victoires depuis longtemps que le pays ancien anciennement connu jusqu'à cet le trône de la capitale du roi Seneferu contre les populations qui occupent la presqu'île du Sinaï.'

cence, and he employed the Egyptian arms beyond his frontiers with such success that he could claim also the title of 'conqueror'.¹ It must always be with a profound interest that travellers contemplate that rock-tablet in the Sinaitic peninsula which contains his name and titles, together with a representation of his prowess as he engages with and fells a foreign adversary. The chief with whom he contends is the sheikh or prince of the *Menahat*, or 'Shepherds of the East,'² who at that time held the mountain country between the two arms of the Red Sea. Attracted thither by the mineral treasures of the region,³ the Egyptian monarch, 'King of Upper and of Lower Egypt, as he proclaims himself, 'Lord of Justice,' and 'Vanquisher of his adversary, carried all before him—defeated and dispersed the old inhabitants of the country, received their submission, and established a military and mining post in the heart of the region, which was thenceforth for centuries carefully guarded by an Egyptian garrison. The ruins which to be seen in the Wady Magharah show the strong fortress within which the Egyptian troops were lodged, the deep well within the walls which secured them an unfailing supply of water, and the neighbouring temples of their native deities, wherein the expatriated soldiers might have the enjoyment of the worship to which they were accustomed in their own land'.⁴

It is not certain that Seneferu adorned Egypt with

¹ The fourth title in the inscription of Wady Magharah, the hawk of Horus perched upon a sceptre for gold, is translated on the Rosetta Stone by vanquisher of his adversaries.


² *History of Ancient Egypt* p. 31.

³ Brugsch supposes mines of turquoise to have been the great attraction of this region (c.c.), but

most Egyptologists consider that the tract was sought on account of its copper-mines. Wilkinson, in the *anners Herodotus*, vol. II. p. 344 and 414. De Rougé, *Recherches*, p. 31. Brugsch, *Egypte Préhistorique* (p. 363 &c.).

⁴ Brugsch *History of Egypt*, vol. I. p. 65, 1st ed.

any buildings. The Meydoun pile has been ascribed to him,¹ but scarcely on sufficient data. Various members of his family were interred in the tombs of Gilzeh, and it is in this way that we make acquaintance with his favourite wife, Meritites,² his son, Nefermaat,³ his grandson, Shaf Seneferu, the son of this latter,⁴ and his eldest daughter, Neferit-kan, who was buried in the same tomb as her brother.⁵ It has been suggested that his own mummy was perhaps deposited in the lower chamber of the Great Pyramid,⁶ which in that case must be supposed to have been commenced by him, but there are no sufficient grounds for this supposition.

The Turin papyrus appears to have assigned to Seneferu a reign of nineteen years. His son, Nefermaat, is thought to have died during his lifetime, and Shaf Seneferu, his grandson, to have been thereupon invested with the title of hereditary prince (*serp sahen* &c.), which he certainly bore;⁷ but the royal dignity, instead of passing to this prince or his grandnephew, was obtained by Khoufou, , under what circumstances it is impossible to say. Khoufou can scarcely have been a son of Seneferu, for he took to wife Seneferu's widow, Meritites. He was perhaps a usurper, and no relation; or possibly he may have been a brother, and have inherited the throne, because Shaf

¹ By Bunsen, conjectured in *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 60, 1st ed.

² See a paper by M. Mariette in *Le Caire*, 4e cahier, for September, 1834.

³ *Le Caire*, *Denkmaeler*, vol. ii. pt. 16. *De Rougé Recherches* p. 37.

⁴ *Denkmaeler*, vol. iii. pt. 6. pl. 17.

⁵ The tomb, N. 50, at Gizeh, of which a representation is given in the *Denkmaeler*, vol. iii. pt. 6. pl. 18.

⁶ *De Rougé, Recherches*, p. 41, note 3.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 60.

Senefertu was not thought to be old enough to exercise the functions of royalty when Senosertu died. *Senefertu* seems to have held a high place at his court, and to have died, while Khufu was still living, before the accession of Shafra.

In Khufu must be acknowledged, if not the greatest of Egyptian kings, yet certainly the greatest of Egyptian builders, and a sovereign of extraordinary energy. From the conception of the step-pyramid of Saqqarah, which was the highest flight of Egyptian architectural daring at the time, to that of the Great Pyramid of Ghizeh, was so vast a stride, that the monarch who took it must be credited with a grandeur and elevation of thought approaching to genius. To more than double the height of the highest previous building, to multiply the area by five, and the mass by ten, was a venture into the untried and the unknown, which none but a bold mind could have conceived, none but an iron will could have resolved to execute. So far as conception went, Khufu may have been assisted by his architect; but the adoption of a plan so extraordinarily grand, the determination to embody the conception in solid stone, this must have been wholly his own act, his own doing; and it implies a resolution and a strength of mind of the highest order. The fact must ever remain one to excite our profound astonishment, that in Egypt, almost at the commencement of its history, among a people living by themselves and deriving no instruction from without, a king—for there is every reason to believe that the whole work was

* Khufu seems to have employed his son, *Senofertu*, as his chief architect; at least, this son takes the title of 'chief of the works to the

king' (*De Rouge, Recherches*, p. 22). He is buried in a tomb close to the Great Pyramid (*ibid.*).

begun and finished by a single monarch¹—conceived and carried out a design so vast, completing a structure which has lasted four thousand years, which is even now among the world's chief marvels, and remains, in respect of size and mass, the most prodigious of all human constructions.²

A description of the Great Pyramid has been already given.³ It must have been commenced by Khufu almost as soon as he ascended the throne, and must have been the occupation of a lifetime. Herodotus is not likely to have obtained an exactly authentic account; but his estimate of thirty years for the time consumed in constructing the pyramid itself, together with its subsidiary structures, and of 100,000 labourers as the number constantly employed upon the work,⁴ is quite in accordance with the probabilities of the case, though scarcely deserving to be accepted as matter of positive history.⁵ An enormous amount of unskilled human labour, gradually advancing the work by expenditure of mere brute strength, is necessitated by the circumstances of the time, and the conditions under which the pyramid was erected. A considerable employment of very highly skilled labour upon those wonderful passages and chambers, which form the true marvel of the building,⁶ must also be regarded as certain, and it seems to follow that such a work could not have been carried to its completion without engaging the energies of almost the whole talent of Ea-

¹ De Rougé has suggested that Sesostris may have begun, and Khufu have completed the Great Pyramid. *Recherches*, p. 41. But there is no solid ground for concluding Sesostris wrote it.

² Lefebvre, *Manuel d'Histoire Antienne*, vol. i, p. 335 (quoted

above, vol. i, p. 166, note¹).

³ Supra, vol. i, pp. 277-286.

⁴ H. vol. ii, 124. The labourers are said to have been recruited every three or six years, so that 400,000 were employed in the course of one year.

See Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 14.

⁵ Supra, vol. i, p. 286.

state, as well as almost its whole labouring population, during the period of an entire generation. Great sufferings would naturally accompany such an interference with men's natural employments, and such a concentration of vast numbers upon a limited area. The construction of the Suez Canal in the years 1865-1869 cost the lives of thousands, who perished through want and disease. It cannot be supposed that it was possible in the infancy of the world's history to execute a far vaster work without similar calamities. Hence probably the ill repute which attached to Khufu, and the other pyramid builders, in after times,¹—an ill-repute which, though falsely explained as resting upon religious grounds, was itself a fact, not doubtful nor disputable.²

In very truth, such constructions as the Pyramids, however they may move our admiration as works of art, in their kind, utterly astonishing and unapproachable, are to the politician and the moralist memorable instances of the lengths to which a paltry egotism will go for the gratification of self at the expense of others. All Egyptians had the same belief with respect to a future life—all equally desired the safe conservation of their earthly remains through many centuries.³ Yet no rich, even of the rich, were content to have their remains deposited in a deep pit, the mouth of which was closed and concealed from view by having one of the walls of the sepulchral chamber or chapel built over it. But the Egyptian kings, or at any rate the kings

¹ Herod. ii. 124. D.

² The position of the pyramids themselves with the Sphinx and the Great Pyramid, as it was indicated the absence of which their memorials were held,!

for the Shepherds' were detected by the Egyptians of the New Empire.

³ See above, vol. i. pp. 31-40 and 511-14.

of this period, because they could command the services of their subjects, being absolute and able to employ as many of them as they chose in forced labours, would not be satisfied with the common lot. Nothing less would content them than granite chambers, sealed by portculises, and enclosed in the centre of 'artificial mountains,'¹ formed of massive blocks of stone, moved into place with sighs and groans by impressed workmen, and too often cemented with the blood of those who were maimed or crushed to death, when a block slipped, as the attempt was being made to lift and emplace it. Such accidents must have been frequent, and have occasioned a considerable loss of life, but it was easy to replace the mutilated and the killed by a fresh conscription, and so to carry out the monarch's proud design at the cost of increased suffering to his subjects. Egyptian kings did not shrink from increasing their wealth at this cost. One only seems, at a certain point, to have paused in his design, and made a change, which brought his work to an earlier termination than that originally contemplated.²

It must ever therefore remain a reproach to Khufu, but by the extravagance of his egotism, of his vanity, and of his ambition to excel all who had gone before or should follow him, he held his people in an intolerable bondage for a longer term of years than any other Egyptian king. We possess no representation of him that can be regarded as approaching to the nature of a portrait, or we should expect to see in his countenance indications of an iron will, a stern pride, and a cruel hardness, such as appear in the later pictures of the

¹ *Leopoldus: Memoir d'Histoire* seen even a model of Diodorus in
the volume, &c. &c. vol. I, pp. 211-12.
See the dome & statue of the south-

first Napoleon. The only bas-relief of him which exists is one at the Wady Magharah, modelled after the earlier representation of Seneferu,¹ which shows him clashing an enemy by the hair of his head, and about to lend him his death stroke with a club or mace. The relief is in a bad state of preservation, but it appears to be thoroughly conventional, and not to him in truthfulness of expression. Khufu has a face like

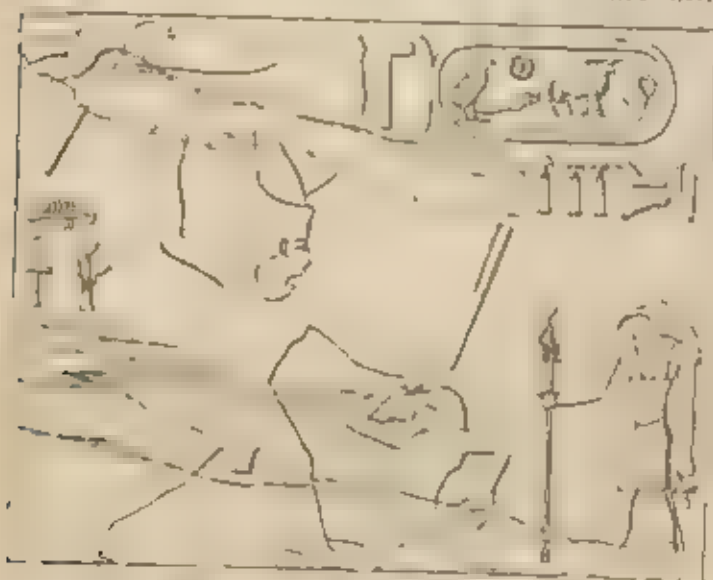


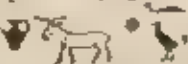


Figure of Khufu at Wady Magharah.

differing from that of Seneferu, to whom in character is preserved a striking contrast.

We gather from the Wady Magharah tablet, that Khufu made two expeditions into the Sinai-peninsula, one to take possession of the mines, on which occasion he merely set up his cartouche and his titles, ending himself with Khufu,   King of Upper and Lower Egypt.

¹ See the woodcut, *supra*, p. 47.

the conquering Horus,* and another—that commemorated on the opposite page—where he gave his name as Num-Khufu, , and represented himself as 'striking down one of the Pet or An foreigners in the presence of the ibis-headed god, Thoth or 'Thoth.'¹ Both these names are found in the Great Pyramid,² and, though some have supposed them to designate different individuals,³ it seems to be now most commonly held⁴ that they are merely two appellations of the same monarch, the successor of Senclern, who, having been originally called Khufa, at a certain period of his life assumed the prefix of Num or Khamu, intending thereby to identify himself with the god whom the Greeks called Krioph, one of the chief objects of worship in Upper Egypt.⁵

This fact, and some others recorded on the native monuments, sufficiently refute the legend of the Greeks⁶ which represented the builder of the Great Pyramid as wholly idolatrous, one who shut up the temples, and was opposed to the polytheism of his subjects. The very reverse appears to have been the fact. He did not only took the name of Khamu, in acknowledgement of the Ibiphanic deity, and placed Thoth upon the trophy of victory which he set up at Wady Magarith, but called himself 'the living Horus,'⁷ and

* Bel. *Ancient Egypt*, p. 381.
 Lep. *Des. de l'Égypte*, vol. ii. pl.
 1. Bel. *Ancient Egypt & Nubia*, vol. ii.
 p. 148.
 Asch. *Des. de l'Égypte & Nubia* (vol. i.)
 and W. *Bel. des. de l'Égypte & Nubia* (vol. ii. p. 264, note 1, and
 ed.).


* Bel. *Ancient Egypt*, p. 372.
 Bel. *History of Egypt*, vol. i.
 pp. 69-70, 1st ed.; Leumann,

History of Egypt, vol. i. p. 757;
 Lep. *Des. de l'Égypte & Nubia*, p. 1154.

* Lep. *Des. de l'Égypte & Nubia*, p. 1154.
 * Lep. *Des. de l'Égypte & Nubia*, p. 1154.
 Lep. *Des. de l'Égypte & Nubia*, vol. i. p.
 70.

1. Lep. *Des. de l'Égypte & Nubia*, p. 1154.
 [It is possible that this inscription
 may be a reference to the Pharaoh
 mentioned in Dr. Brugsch's *History
 of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 61, 1st ed.]

actually built a temple to Isis, whom (as being Horus) he called 'his mother,' and whose image he placed in her sanctuary, attaching at the same time to the edifice an estate by way of endowment.¹ He also, if we may trust an inscription of comparatively late date, found at the temple of Denderah, furnished the plan upon which the original edifice, dedicated to Athor on that site, was built.² Even the Greeks³ inform us that Khufu, notwithstanding his alleged impiety, composed a religious work entitled 'The Sacred Book,' which continued to be highly valued in after ages. The extant remains certainly bear strong witness to his religious zeal, presenting him to us in the character of the first known builder of temples, the first king who is found to have acknowledged almost all the principal Egyptian gods,⁴ and the first person known to have brought into use the system of religious endowments.

The family of Khufu appears to have been large. He took to wife, on his access, an Queen Meretef, the widow of his predecessor,⁵ and had by her a number of sons and daughters, whose tombs 'form a crown around his pyramid.'⁶ Merhet, , one of his sons, is said to have been the 'priest of Khufu's

nomos. But if so, it was as a private individual, in the case of some ancient persons of no rank, the practice of assuming a particular nomos is not written down with much information.

¹ De Rouge, p. 47. Heuzey, *Recherches sur les monuments égyptiens, Histoire d'Égypte*, &c.

² Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 37.

³ *Is. the first king of Egypt*. *Ancient Egypt*, p. 37. *Chemigraph*, vol. i. pp. 365, 6, and 37, 7.

⁴ Khufu connects with himself especially Horus and Anubis. He

connects the Thot on his tablet at the Wad Medinet. His wife Meretef is also an goddess, and of the name and not of the goddess. But the temple of Isis was built by him with Anubis and a connection with the goddess Isis. *Chemigraph*, vol. i. p. 37, 7. *Ancient Egypt*, p. 37.

⁵ De Rouge, *Recherches*, p. 37. *Is. the first king of Egypt*, p. 37. *Chemigraph*, vol. i. p. 37, 7. *Ancient Egypt*, p. 37.

obelisk,¹ whereby we perceive that this architectural embellishment, although it may not have taken an important place in the great designs of architects until the time of the twelfth dynasty, was yet already known and employed in the fourth, though probably upon a smaller scale than afterwards. Sef-hotep, another son, was (as already mentioned²) the 'chief of the works of Khufu,' and therefore most likely his head architect. A third son, Suf-Khufu, was priest of Ap-s³. A daughter, Hents, 𓆎𓅓𓏏, was buried under a small pyramid in immediate proximity to the great monument of her father.⁴ Two other sons, Knub and Khem-tat-f, had tombs in the same vicinity.⁵ Mer-sukh, the wife of Shufra, is thought to have been also one of his daughters.⁶

Khufu was, according to the lists of Abydos and Saccarâ, succeeded by a king named Ratatf, 𓆎𓅓𓏏𓆎, who is supposed to be Manetho's 'Ratasos.' There are several monumental evinces of this monarch's existence,⁷ and the place assigned to him in the lists seems to be the correct one, but his reign must have been unimportant, and was probably extremely brief to be counted not by years, but by months. At his demise, the throne was occupied by a son-in-law of the great Khufu a monarch who bore the name of Shufra or Kautra, 𓆎𓅓𓏏𓆎, the Chephren of Herodotus⁸ and the Chetwyse of Diodorus Siculus.⁹

¹ Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. ix. pls. 18, 22.

² See p. 10. 𓆎𓅓𓏏𓆎.

³ See Lepsius, *Recherches*, p. 44.

⁴ Lepsius, p. 47. Compare Herod. ii. 20.

⁵ Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. ix. pls. 25 and 28.

⁶ De Rouge, *Recherches*, pp. 57, 61.

⁷ These have been carefully collected by de Rouge and will be found in his *Recherches*, pp. 52-4.

⁸ Herod. ii. 127.

⁹ Diod. Sic. i. 64.

Shafra is the first of the Egyptian kings whose personal appearance we can distinctly and fully realise. Two statues of him, in green basalt,¹ his own gift to the temple of the Sphinx, show him to us such as he existed, a life, bearing upon them as they do the stamp of a thoroughly realistic treatment. The figure of the king is tall and slender—the chest, shoulders, and upper arm well developed, but the lower arm and the lower leg long and slight. The head is smallish, the forehead fairly high and marked with lines of thought, but a little retreating, the eye small,



Upper portion of Statue of Shafra.

the nose well shaped, the lips slightly projecting, but

¹ I am indebted for my knowledge of these statues to M. de B. who has been taken. The statues are in the Museum of Berlin.

not unduly thick, the chin well rounded, and the cheek somewhat too fat. The expression, on the whole, is pleasing, the look thoughtful and intelligent, but with a touch of sensuality about the under jaw and mouth. There is no particular sternness, but there is certainly no weakness, in the face, which is that of one not likely to be moved by pity or turned from his purpose by undue softness of heart.


Like his predecessor, Shafra must have made it the main business of his life to provide himself with a tomb that should be an eternal monument of his greatness and glory. He gave to his pyramid the name of *Per*, 'the great,' 'the principal,'¹ and though the inferiority of its actual dimensions² has caused it in modern times to receive the appellation of 'the Second Pyramid,' it is quite possible that he expected to deceive his subjects into the belief that it was a vast structure than that of Khufu, or the side of which he placed it. For the he of the ground favours such a deception. The rocky platform on which the three pyramids are built rises towards the centre, and the central position of the second pyramid gives it a marked advantage over the first, causing its summit to attain actually a higher elevation above the level of the plain than is attained by the pyramid of Khufu.³ In another respect also Shafra aimed at outdoing his predecessor. Not content with the compact limestone of the opposite or Mokatan range, from which Khufu drew the vast blocks with which he revetted his

¹ De Rouge, *Recherches*, p. 561. Compare also *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 77, 16th ed.

² See above, vol. i. p. 102, 10.

³ Ibid. p. 107. The difference in the actual height of the edifice was

only 100 feet, but that of the pyramid of Khufu. The difference in elevation between the two pyramids was equal to the first and not the pyramid of Shafra.

which are remarkable, and which seem to indicate an advance on the bold and bald presentation of themselves to their subjects as the main Egyptian divinities, on which the kings ventured. Shafra not only calls himself 'Horus, lord of the heart,' and 'the good Horus,' but *neter aa*, 'the great god,' and *sa Ra*, 'Son of Ra,' or 'of the Sun.'¹ This famous title, , so familiar to us from the cartouches of the later Pharaohs, appears in the inscriptions of Shafra for the first time. To him we must therefore assign the credit, or the discredit, of having invented a phrase which, exactly falling in with the vanity of subsequent kings and the adulation of their subjects, became a standing immutable title, the necessary adjunct to the proper name of every later sovereign. Shafra also added to the ordinary royal title of 'conquering Horus' the prefix of *Ahem*, either in the sense of 'master,' 'ruler,' or with the intention of attaching to himself another divine name, and claiming to be an incarnation of the god Khem no less than of the god Horus.

Shafra seems to have been married to a daughter of his predecessor, named Merimakh², or Merimakh³. Her tomb has been found at Saccharah, and has on it an inscription, by which it appears that she bore the office of priestess to Thoth, and also to one of the sacred animals regarded as an incarnation of deity⁴. She claims association with the 'lord of animals,'⁵ and it is thought to be not improbable that Shafra reigned in her right rather than in his own⁶. It does not appear from the monuments that he was in any way related to

¹ De Rougé, *Recherches*, p. 66.

² *Ibid.* p. 67, 61.

³ The name Merimakh is also given in the text of the inscription, pp. 40—41. It is uncertain to which of these Merimakh was

related, as the expression used appears to be a title.

⁴ *Ibid.* *Recherches* pp. 65, 66.

⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 61—62.

Khnufu, or that he had in his veins any royal blood, and the conjecture is made that at this ancient epoch there was some special right of daughters to succeed their father, either in preference to sons, or in case of their being the elder children. A right of the kind is known to have obtained in Lycia¹ and other eastern countries, and the want of any indication of the succession from father to son in the monuments of this time raises the suspicion that some such practice prevailed in Egypt under the early Pharaohs. But, however this may have been, Meri-sankh was at any rate a personage of great importance in Sufra's reign. She was 'exalted to the highest degree of dignity to which it was possible for the wife of an Egyptian monarch to attain'². Associated with the 'lord of diadems,' she had the entire control of the royal gynæceum, or 'house of the women,' enjoyed two priesthoods, and was deep in the confidence and high in the favour of her royal consort. She bore Sufra at least two sons. One of these, who had the name of Neb-makhut, is represented as his father's 'heir'³. He was a superior priest of the order of Heb, a sacred scribe, and 'clerk of the closet to his father. Five estates, of which he was the owner, had all been presented to him by his liberal parent, and had received names in which Sufra was an element.⁴ Another son, S-kem-karra, possessed fourteen such properties,⁵ and must have been one of the wealthiest landed proprietors of the time. He enjoyed his wealth for a long term of years, living to a good old age under five

¹ Herod. i. 173.

² Dr. Rodin, *Recherches*, p. 50.


³ *Ibid.* p. 57.

⁴ Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. ix. pt.

pl. 12 b.

⁵ *Ibid.* pt. 42 a.

successive kings,¹ whose escutcheons he displays upon his monument.

The immediate succession of Mencheres (Menkaura, ) to Shufra, asserted by Herodotus² and Manetho,³ is indicated on the tomb of Sekem-kara,⁴ and confirmed by the table of Seti I at Abydos.⁵ Yet here again we are unable to trace by means of the monuments any blood-relationship, and can say nothing of the connection between Menkaura and his predecessors beyond the fact of there having been a tradition that he descended, not from Shufra, but from Khufu,⁶ the first and greatest of the pyramid kings. Born and bred up during the years when the whole thought and attention of Egypt was given to the construction of these wonderful edifices, he would have been more than human if he had not been carried away by the spirit of the time, and felt it his duty to imitate in some degree, if he could not hope to emulate, his predecessors. The pyramid in which he engaged was on a humble scale. As designed and executed by himself, it seems to have been a square of no more than one hundred and eighty feet, with an elevation of one hundred and forty-five feet.⁷ A sepulchral chamber of no remarkable pretension,⁸ excavated in the solid rock below the monument, contained the sarcophagus and coffin of the king. The

¹ Shufra, Menkaura, Assakuf, Ius-kaf, and Sabura. *Lepsius*, vol. vi. pl. 42. Compare the *Monopis*, *Recherches*, p. 771.

² *Herod.* ii. 129.

³ *Ap. Syncell. Chronograph.* p. 60, p.

⁴ *Denkmäler*, i. 3 c.

⁵ *The Monopis*, *Recherches*, pl. 2 at the end of the line, Nos. 23 and 24.

⁶ *Herod. l.c.*

⁷ See above, vol. i. p. 104. These dimensions are considerably less than those of the step-pyramid of Sakkara and indeed are somewhat less than one-third of the magnificent edifice of Khufu and Shufra.

⁸ That is, as compared with the remarkable basement of Khufu (see vol. i. p. 204). Otherwise the construction is curious and worthy of notice (compare vol. i. p. 104).

sarcophagus was of whinstone, and elaborate in its ornamentation.¹ The coffin, which was of cedar wood,² and shaped like a mummy, but with a pedestal on which it could stand upright, was of great simplicity, being adorned with no painting, but bearing on the front two columns of hieroglyphics,³ which are thus read by the best scholars:—‘O Osiris, king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkaura, living eternally, engendered by the Heaven, born of Nut, substance of Sch, thy mother Nut stretches herself over thee in her name of the abyss of heaven. She renders thee divine by destroying all thy enemies, O king Menkaura, living eternally.’⁴ The formula is one not special to this king, but repeated on the covers of other sarcophagi,⁵ and probably belonging to a ritual, though not to one of very ancient date, since the ideas embodied in it can scarcely be traced back further than the time of Menheres himself. Before this date the god Anubis is mentioned in connection with the special duty of the dead, to the exclusion of the name of Osiris; and the coffin-aid of Menkaura marks a new religious development in the annals of Egypt.⁶ The absorption of the justed soul in Osiris, the cardinal doctrine of the ‘Ritual of the Dead,’ makes its appearance here for the first time; and we can scarcely be wrong in assigning to this monarch an important part in the doctrinal change, whereby the souls of the just were no longer regarded as retaining

¹ See above, vol. I. p. 103.

² Breth, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 40.

³ This is a reproduction of the text of Menkaura's coffin, as given by Breth, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 40. I have followed some authorities where they agree, and retained the text of Lepsius where they differ.

⁴ These sentences, varying in a few particulars, are given by Breth, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 41.

Breth, Ancient Egypt, p. 40. Breth, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 40. I have followed some authorities where they agree, and retained the text of Lepsius where they differ.

⁵ Breth, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 41.

⁶ Breth, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 41.

their individuality in the other world, but were identified, each and all, with Osiris himself, and were thought to be, at any rate temporarily, absorbed into his divine being.

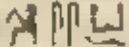
Altogether, Meneseres left behind him the character of a religious king. According to Herodotus, he reopened the temples, which had been kept closed by Khufu (Cheops) and Shafu (Chephren), and allowed the people to resume the practice of sacrifice.¹ In the 'Ritual of the Dead' it is recorded of him that one of the most important chapters of the book was discovered during his reign by his son, Horotef, who found it at Sisen in (Herm) polis, in the course of a journey which he had undertaken for the purpose of inspecting the temples of Egypt.² There is such an amount of agreement in these two notices, both of which seem to imply that this monarch paid special attention to the temples, and interested himself in the cause of religion, that we shall scarcely err in assuming a foundation of truth for the king's traditional character, though the attitude of the two preceding monarchs to the established worship was certainly not that imputed to them. Meneseres was himself dedicated by his name to Ra, the sun-god, and he gave his son a name which put him under the protection of Horus. We must suppose that he sent his son on the tour of inspection mentioned in the 'Ritual,' thus showing himself anxious to learn what condition the temples were in, and we may conclude that he had a hand in the compilation of that mysterious treatise by the fact that Horotef's discovery became a portion of its contents.

Not was pity the only good quality which truth

¹ Herod. ii. 136. Ch. xv. Herod. *Egypt's Emperors*, vol. i.

² See the *Apocalypse* at the end of v. pp. 200-10.

now assigned to this monarch. He was also said to have been distinguished for justice and kindness of heart.¹ The monuments of his reign are not sufficiently abundant to enable us fully to test this statement; but it is certainly in accordance with it, that we find Mencheres singing out a youth of no high birth or connection for his special favour, introducing him as an inmate into the palace, and causing him to receive his education together with his own children.² The youth in question, whose name was Ptahases, retained a lively recollection of this act of kindness, and in the inscription upon his tomb took care to commemorate the gracious favour of his royal benefactor.

Mencheres was succeeded by a monarch whose name is written , which is expounded differently by different writers, some calling it *Aseskaf* and some *Shupiskaf*.³ We shall adopt the former reading. Aseskaf's immediate successor to Mencheres is indicated alike by the tomb of Ptahases,⁴ and by that of Skenkera.⁵ Ptahases tells us that Aseskaf continued towards him the kind treatment commenced by his predecessor, allowed him still to receive education in the palace with the royal children, and, when he had come to years of discretion, gave him to wife his eldest daughter, Mat-shu, preferring him as a husband for her to any other man. This first act of signal favour was followed up by such a multitude of others that the modern historian is driven to remark on the antiquity of the system of paralytes,⁶ and the early date of

¹ Herodot. l. 2. 20.

² De Rouge, *Recherches*, pp. 681-7.

³ De Rouge presents the form *Aseskaf*, *Recherches*, pp. 681-7. Brugsch, the form *Shupiskaf* (*Histoire of Egypt*, vol. I. pp. 85-7,

1st ed.). Dr Birch allows neither reading (*Ancient Egypt*, p. 41).

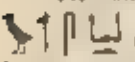
⁴ De Rouge, p. 67.

⁵ Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. iii. pt. ii, pl. 42.

⁶ Birch, *L.A.C.*

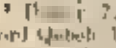
which ecclesiastical posts were assigned to court favourites for the mere purpose of enabling their holders to draw a large revenue from benefices which they must have treated as simple sinecures. Ptah-uses was prophet of Ptahah, of Sokari, and of Athor, priest of the temple of Sokari, and of that of Ptahah at Memphis, prophet of Ra-Harmachis, of Ma, and of Horus, as well as overseer of the granaries, royal secretary, chief of the rames, and 'chief of the house of bronze'. He says that he was 'esteemed by the king above all his other servants';¹ and we may therefore hope that so sharpless an accumulation of offices upon a favourite as that which Ptah-uses' tomb reveals to us was unusual.

Aeskaef, like the other monarchs of this period, built himself a pyramid, and gave it the name of *Ach*, or 'refreshment'.² This pyramid has not at present been identified among the existing sixty-six, but it is quite possible that farther research may lead to its discovery. It is probably among the group known as 'the pyramids of Saqqarah,' which became the favourite burial place when the Giza site ceased to be thought suitable, since the enormous constructions of Khufu and Sakhra could not possibly, it was felt, be exceeded, and they dwarfed all ordinary erections.

The successor of Aeskaef was Uskaef or Usirkaef,³ , who is thought to be the Userkhores of Manetho, the first king of his fifth dynasty. An unusually close correspondence is traced between the

¹ De Rougé, *Recherches* pp. 34-35, 1st ed. 1.

² Ibid. p. 47.

³  72. Brugsch reads the word *Qabeh* but gives it the same meaning, *History of Egypt*, vol. i.

⁴ Uskaef, according to Brugsch, (*History of Egypt*, vol. i.) p. 97, Usirkaef according to De Rougé and Brugsch, *Recherches*, p. 75-80 and *Brugsch's Ancient Egypt*, p. 47.

monumental names of this period and those of Manetho's list,¹ is a derivative of the fact that Manetho at this point of his history has for once obtained tolerably good information. His dynastic list consists of nine kings, who are made to occupy a space of 218 years, which, however, is probably too much. The Turin papyrus reduces the period to one of 141 years only, and even this number is most likely in excess, since as many as twenty-one years are assigned to monarchs, of whom the contemporary monuments show no traces, and who must be regarded as secondary associated princes.² The line seems really to have been one of seven kings only—Usurkaf, Salatis, Neferakharu, Ransefer, Merkaudhor, Titkara, or Assu, and Unas, and the time which it occupied seems a little to have exceeded a hundred years. If we assign to the four or five preceding monarchs³ a similar term, we shall make a liberal allowance, and have for the entire space from the accession of Seneferu to the death of Unas one of about two centuries.

It is difficult to conjecture any reason for Manetho's division of the kings of this period into two separate dynasties, one Memphite, and the other Elephantine. Nothing is more distinctly shown by the monuments than the fact, that the entire series from Seneferu to Unas lived and reigned at Memphis; nor do we possess in all our ample materials the slightest trace of any break or division in the series, any change of policy, or religion, or art, to account for the fiction of two houses. It would seem that the Sebennytic priest had made up his

¹ See the Rouge's table in the *statutes*.
Berlin *not*, p. 78.

² *Ibid.* p. 76. The Rouge compares Unas' princes to the 'Caesars' of the time of Diocletian and Con-

³ Seneferu, Khufu, Shufsu, Merkaudhor, and perhaps Hatath, who, however, may have been a 'Caesar'

mand to have thirty dynasties down to the close of Egyptian independence, and was not very particular how he produced them. To swell the number of years and obtain the total which he wanted, he introduced secondary associated princes into his lists by the side of the true monarchs, without distinguishing them, and from time to time he seems to have even gone the length of interpolating into his lists wholly fictitious kings. The Richeres, Setchereres, and Thautphthis, who close the fourth dynasty of Manetho, if not absolute fabrications, have at any rate no right to the place which they occupy. They are fictitious at *that point* certainly; ¹ possibly they are fictitious all together.


The reign of Usarkaf was short and undistinguished. He built a small pyramid, which he called *Fah asu*, 'the most holy of all places,' ² and established the usual worship of his own deity in connection with it, which he committed to the charge of a priest named Khnum-hotep. In this worship he associated with himself the goddess Athor ³. Among his other titles he took that of *Hu ar em ut*, ⁴ or 'Horus, the dispenser of justice,' which would appear to imply that, like Seneferu, ⁵ he regarded it as one of his chief duties to have justice carefully and strictly administered throughout the country under his rule. Only a very few monuments belonging to his reign have been as yet discovered,

¹ De Rougé says, 'Il n'est de notre inscription que les trois dynasties comprises en la quatrième dynastie dans la liste d'Érimon, mais pas du point chronologique sur lequel on tombe. Richeres, Setchereres et Thautphthis sont évidemment interpolés dans cet endroit' (p. 78).

² Ibid. *loc.*

³ Ibid. p. 80.

⁴ Mariette in his *Monuments*

Égyptes, pl. 56, et gives a representation of a register now in the Museum of Berlin, where the cartouche of Usarkaf is twice accompanied by this title, which is written thus: 

De Rougé translates it by 'le dieu faisant justice' in his *Recherches*, p. 79.

⁵ See above, p. 47.

but his place in the list of kings, between Aseskaf and Sahura, is certain.



The succession of Sahura  to Userkaf is sufficiently established by the tomb of Skenkara,¹ and is further supported by the tables of Saqqarah and Abydos,² as well as by Manetho,³ if we admit his 'Sephres' to represent this monarch. Sahura followed in the steps of Seneterra and Khufu by making an expedition into the Sinitic peninsula, where he had to contend with a new enemy, the Mentu, , who had by this time become the ruling tribe in the vicinity of the copper mines. He appears in the usual attitude of a conqueror, smiting a half-prostrate enemy with uplifted mace,⁴ but wears in this representation the crown of Upper Egypt only, though another figure of him, a little behind, has the other crown instead.



Table of Sahura at Wady Magharah.

In the text which accompanies his sculpture he calls

¹ Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. iii. pt. ii. pl. 41 a.

² Dr. Rougé, *Recherches*, pl. i. No. 23, p. ii. No. 37.

³ Ap. Syncell. *Chronograph*, vol. i. p. 67, v.

⁴ Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. iii. pt. ii. pl. 41 f.

himself 'the great god, who destroys the Mentu and strikes down all nations.' There is, however, no evidence beyond this statement, that he carried his arms into any other region besides that of Siam, or warred with any other nation besides the Mentu; and it is on the whole most probable that his military achievements were limited to this people and quarter, despite the grandiloquent terms of his inscription. The Egyptian kings of the period were decidedly not warlike, and we have no reason to suppose that Sakhara was an exception to the general rule, or did more than repeat the former deeds of Khufu and Seneferu.

The only oil or fact recorded of Sakhara is his erection of a pyramid, to which he gave the name of *Shu ba*, or 'the rising of the soul,' to mark his belief in the resurrection.¹ This building has been identified, by the occurrence of his name on some of its blocks, with the 'northern pyramid of Abu sir,' an edifice of some considerable pretension. It was a true pyramid, perfectly square, each side measuring 150 Egyptian cubits, or 257 of our feet, and with a perpendicular height of 95 cubits or 163 feet,² being thus considerably larger than the pyramid built for himself by Menkaure.³ Directly below the apex, and a little above the level of the natural ground, was the sepulchral chamber, roofed over in the usual way, with huge blocks set obliquely, the blocks measuring in some instances thirty six feet by twelve.⁴ The sarcophagus appears to have been of basalt, but had been demolished before the modern explorations; the chambers

¹ De Rouge, p. 81.


² Bunsen, *Egypt's Place in Universal History*, v. 2, p. 10, and compare the table at the end of the volume.

³ See above, p. 63. The central First Pyramid of Giza is a more recent construction, as I have already said.

⁴ Bunsen, l.c.

and passages are said to have been 'formed, in the most skillful and artistic manner, of vast blocks of limestone from the quarries of Turah.'¹ The pyramid stood in the middle of an oblong court, surrounded by a low wall or peribolus.

Salura established as priest of his pyramid an Egyptian named Akhefi ka, who was also priest of the pyramid of his predecessor, Userkat, and held other important offices.² Salura's worship was continued to a late date in Egypt, his priests obtaining mention in the time of the Ptolemies.³ It is conjectured that he was the founder of an Egyptian town called Pa salura,⁴ but not written with the characters by which it was used to express Salura's name. This town was near Esna, and is mentioned in the reigns calendar of that city.

The table of Abydos places a king named Kaka, , in the place immediately following that occupied by Salura,⁵ and, as traces of this royal name are found in the tombs of the period,⁶ it is to be supposed that there was such a sovereign, or rather perhaps only a prince, who was elevated the rank of king about this time. The real successor, however, of Salura appears to have been Nefer it ka ra, who follows him in the table of Saqqarah,⁷ in the list of Manetho,⁸ and in the inscriptions on several tombs.⁹ We possess no par-

¹ Bunsen, *Egypte Anc.*, vol. ii. p. 19.

² De Rouge, *Recherches*, p. 52.

³ Ibid. p. 84.

⁴ Herodotus, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 28. (aced. De Rouge, *Recherches* 1 &c.)

⁵ De Rouge, *Recherches*, pl. i. at the end of the column No. 26.

⁶ Some of the blocks in the interior of the tomb of Ti had the name of Kaka on them, roughly



inscribed in red by the persons (the king's, p. 97.) *Recherches* p. 52. In a tomb of Saqqarah (see *Recherches*, vol. ii. pt. ii. p. 75), and on a vase found at Saqqarah (De Rouge p. 84.)

⁷ See De Rouge's table No. 24.

⁸ Under the form *Nefereches* (*Synecd. Chronograph.* vol. i. p. 87. n.)

⁹ *Denkmäler*, vol. iii. pt. ii. pls. 43-49.

culars of this monarch's reign which have more than a very slight claim on the reader's attention. He built a pyramid which he called *Ia*, or 'the soul'.¹ He raised to high position the officials Ter Kium and Tahenaka, whose grades was literary, but on whom were appointed various and sometimes most menial offices.² But otherwise we know nothing of him, except that he reigned, according to Manetho, twenty, or, according to the Turin papyri, seven years.³ His pyramid has not been recognised.

Nefer-ar-ke-ra was followed by Re-n-user, or User-ti-ru, as some read the name (which is expressed as follows in the Egyptian, , who bore also the name⁴ of An, . He followed the example of Sakhari by making an expedition against the Mentu, of the Suahic peninsula, and represents himself at Wady Magharah in the usual form of a warrior armed with a mace, wherewith he threatens to destroy a shrinking and almost prostrate enemy.⁵ He takes the proud title of 'the great god, lord of the two lands, king of Egypt, king of the upper and lower countries, conqueror of Hanes, and son of the Sun'. The device above his cartouch is *as het tati*, 'place of the heart (i.e. object of the affections) of the two lands.' Khuser built the middle pyramid of Abousir, which is the smallest of the three, having a base of no more than 274 feet.


¹ De Rouge, *Recherches*, p. 80.

² Ibid. pp. 80-82, 4 or 5 lines, *business letter*, 'scribe of the palace', 'inspector of writings', and 'head treasurer of relations', was also chief of the granaries, and 'commandant of the corps of recruits for infantry service' (ibid., p. 80).

³ Ibid. p. 75.

⁴ This is the first instance of an

Egyptian king with two names, one being given to him when he was a child the other one used at his accession. Perseus on archæol. has some remarks, in the same way, on the general name *Asiaticus* used by the Greeks. *Asiaticus*, vol. iv. pt. ii. pt. 162 n.

with an elevation of 171 feet 4 inches.¹ His sepulchral chamber occupied the usual position, in the centre of the base, and was guarded with jealous care by granite blocks and a portentous, which, however, did not prevent the penetration and plunder of the tomb by the Mohammedan conquerors. These insatiable treasure-seekers 'broke through the pyramid from the top, and split up with iron wedges most of the blocks which seemed indestructible,'² disappointing the hopes of the builder, who had called his pyramid *men asu*, 'the (trusty) stable of places,'³ and at the same time disappointing their own hopes, for they assuredly found nothing therein to repay their labours. Ramses's reign appears to have been long and prosperous. The Turin papyrus assigns him twenty-five,⁴ and Manetho forty-four⁵ years. A large number of magnificent tombs belong to his time,⁶ and reveal to us the names, lives, and circumstances of numerous granaries of his court, who bucked in his favour while living, and, by inscribing his name upon their tombs, glorified him when dead. The finest of all these monuments is that which has been called 'the marvel of Saqqarah,'⁷ the tomb of Ti, . This monument furnished to the Museum of Bouliq some of the most admirable of the portrait statues that it possesses,⁸ and is decorated with a series of elaborate painted bas-reliefs in the best style of the early Egyptian art. We gather from the inscriptions upon its walls that the noble who erected it had at the outset of his career no advantages of birth, but rose by merit and by the favour of successive sove-

¹ Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, vol. II. p. 59. A.
p. 101.

² *Ibid.* p. 102.

³ De Rougé, *Recherches*, p. 30.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 55.

⁵ *Ap. Sacerd. Chronograph.* vol.

⁶ *De Rougé, Recherches*, pp. 55-56.

⁷ De Rougé, p. 102.

⁸ *Ibid.* p. 102.

reigns to the highest position whereto it was possible for a subject to attain. The tomb of Ti was commenced under Kaka and finished under Ramses,¹ who must be credited with the merit of rewarding talent and good conduct wherever he found it, whether in the ranks of the nobles or among the common people.

The immediate successor of Ramses was Menka-hor, **K** — ¹²/_U,² who must have come to the throne when he was quite a youth, as appears by the subjoined representation of him,³ which was found upon a slab built into one of the walls of the Serapeum at Memphis.⁴



Bas-relief of Menka-hor



¹ De Rouge, *Recherches*, p. 67.

² Birch says, with reference to this portrait: 'He appears to have been youthful, with a good profile and rather a full face' (*Ancient*

Egypt, p. 18). De Rouge (*Recherches*, p. 10) 'Il paraît jeune, et son profil est très-bien'.

³ Draper's *History of Egypt* vol. 1, p. 61. De Rouge, l.c.

On this monument he is called 'the good god, lord of the two banks.'¹ He wears the elaborate projecting false beard commonly worn by kings in the later times, and a double chain or necklace, with a broad collar, round his neck. There are traces of a bracelet upon the left wrist. Over his head hovers the protecting hawk of Horus. Almost the only other existing monument of the reign of Menkaura is his tablet at Wady Magharah,² a very unpretending memorial, with no representation of his person upon it, no claim of conquest, and no title excepting the simple one 'king of Egypt.' Menkaura, the Menheres II. of Manetho,³ must have died while still a young man, since his reign did not extend beyond eight, or at the most nine years.⁴ He was buried in a pyramid called *Isutef-asa*, 'the (most) divine of places,'⁵ but his tomb has not yet been identified.

From Menkaura the crown passed to Tutkara,  or Asa , the second king with two names.⁶ Like his immediate predecessor, he visited, in person or by his commissioners, the mines of Wady Magharah, where there had been some failure in one of the minerals on account of which they were worked.⁷ The investigations undertaken by his orders were not without result; a tablet was discovered, supposed to have been written by the god Thoth, who pointed out the exact locality where the precious *matka* was to be found. Asa further built a pyramid which he called

¹ See the plate in M. de Rougé's *Recherches*, 4^{te} éd., opp. p. 108, where I read *thout* instead of *thout*.

² *Recherches*, vol. 6, pl. 11, pl. 30.

³ Ap. Senell *Chronograph* 128.

⁴ The Turin papyrus gives the


former, Manetho the latter number (De Rougé *Recherches*, p. 75).

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 100.



⁶ See above, p. 73.

⁷ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 48.

⁸ Compare the *Recherches*, vol. 6, pl. 11, pl. 30.

simply *nefer*, 'the good,'¹ and introduced the customary worship of his own divinity in connection with it.² His favourite title was *sa Ra*,  "son of the sun."³ The tombs of Saccarah and Gizeh contain numerous notices of him,⁴ and show that, like the other kings of the period, he was fond of accumulating offices upon his favourites without much regard to their compatibility.⁵

The most interesting of the extant memorials belonging to the time of Assa is a papyrus—probably the most ancient manuscript in the world⁶—written by the son of a former king,⁷ who calls himself Ptah-hotep. The character used is the hieratic, and the subject of the treatise is the proper conduct of life, and the advantages to be derived from a right behaviour. Ptah-hotep states that he was a hundred and ten years old when he composed the work, and that he wrote it 'under the majesty of King Assa.' We shall make further reference, in the later part of this chapter, to its contents.⁸

The fifth Manethonian dynasty closes, and the period of Egyptian history commencing with extraneous notices,⁹ with a monarch called Unas,  , who

¹ De Rouge, *Recherches*, p. 100.

² *Ibid.* pp. 100-1.

³ This title is found at Wady Magara, and also at beyond quoted by De Rouge, *Recherches*, p. 100, note 3. It was not, as yet at all uncommon among the kings.

⁴ *Denkmäler*, vol. iii. pp. 11, 16, 60-72, and 78-85.

⁵ *Khephren*, for instance was priest of the pyramids, Heliopolis, Memphis, and Tathara, and of the south treasury, 'a combination of the attributes,'⁶ keeper of the records, and governor of Memphis. (De Rouge, *Recherches*, pp. 161-2.)

⁶ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 162, note d.

⁷ Dr. Brugsch calls him 'the son of Unas' (p. 162). De Rouge had perceived at the impossibility of this. *Recherches*, p. 102, where he writes the king's name was still alive, and when his own age was 100.

⁸ See vol. i. pp. 162-3.

⁹ This is an important point. The first, second, and third dynasties of kings which appears in the Turin papyrus was after Unas, when there was an enumeration of the kings from the time of Menes, and of the sum total of the years

is no doubt the Onnos of Manetho¹. He reigned, according to the Turin papyrus thirty, according to Manetho thirty-three, years.² No great reliance can be placed on these numbers; and the fact that his pyramid, the *Mustabat-el-Faraoun*, is truncated, or in other words unfinished,³ would seem to imply that his life came to an untimely end. This edifice is an oblong building, constructed of enormous blocks of limestone, but was named by its builder *nefer-aa*, 'the best piece'.⁴ Its original length from north to south was 300 feet, and its breadth 247. The height to which it had been carried up when the work ceased was no more than sixty feet.⁵ There are no traces of him at Wady Magharah; and his reign would, on the whole, seem to have been short and unglorious.

From the brief and bald account which shall hereafter be given of these kings, unless we surrender the reins to the imagination, and allow ourselves to depart from fancy the scenes of their life, and their civil or military employments, we may pass once more to the general condition of Egypt during the period, and its progress in arts, in religion, and in refinement of manners.

It is the glory of the period that it carried its own proper style of architecture to absolute and unsurpassed perfection. The weak and tentative efforts of primitive times were suddenly thrown aside; and the


of their reigns. (See De Rougé, *Recherches*, p. 146.)

¹ Vp. Synced *Chronograph* vol. i. p. 53. s.

² Ibid. Compare De Rougé, *Recherches*, p. 75.

³ De Rougé observes that possibly the style *Mustabat-el-Faraoun* may have meant primitivement la forme de pyramide tronquée, ou

ne voit pas pourquoi cette forme n'apparaitra pas comme déterminative de la pyramide *Nefer-aa*. *Recherches*, p. 146, note.

But the determinative is the ordinary complete pyramid, 

⁴ Ibid. p. 163.

⁵ Vase, *Pyramids of Gizeh*, vol. iii. p. 63.

early kings of the period advanced by an ambitious leap from buildings of moderate dimensions—not beyond the constructive powers of architects in most civilised countries—to those gigantic piles which dwarf all other structures, and for size and mass have, up to the present time, no rivals. Khufu and Shafra found builders willing and able to carry out their desires for tombs that should shame all past and reduce to despair all future architects. They found men who could carry up solid stone buildings to the height of nearly 500 feet,¹ without danger of instability, or even any increased risk from pressure or settlement. These builders were able, first of all, to emplace their constructions with astronomical exactness; secondly, to employ in them, wherever it was needed, masonry of the most massive and enduring kind; thirdly, to secure the chambers and passages, which were essential features of such structures, by contrivances of great ingenuity, perfectly adapted to their purpose;² and fourthly, by their choice of lines and proportions, to produce works which, through their symmetry and the imposing majesty of their forms, impress the spectator, even at the present day, with feelings of awe and admiration, such as are scarcely excited by any other architectural constructions in the wide world.³

It is not surprising that the extraordinary burst of architectural power under Khufu and Shafra was followed by a reaction. Fashion, or religious prejudice, still required that the body of a king should be entombed in a pyramid,⁴ and from Menkaura to Unas

¹ See above, vol. I. p. 107.

² Ibid. pp. 101, 203, &c.

³ A few *Pyramids of Gizeh*, vol. I. p. 176.

⁴ We must not make the mistake

of converting this proposition, and assuming that 'every pyramid is the tomb of a king' (B. p. 138). *History of Egypt*, vol. I. p. 72, 1st ed. Many, it is probable, cover the bodies

every successive monarch gave a portion of his time and attention to the rearing of such a monument. But, as all felt it hopeless to attempt to surpass the vast erections which the builders of the First and Second Pyramids had piled upon the rocky plateau of Gizeh, they not unaturally gave up all idea of even vying with those 'giants of old time,' and were content with comparatively moderate and unpretending sepulchres. Menkaura set the fashion of constructing for himself a modest tomb;¹ and his example was followed by the remaining kings of the period. The monuments distinctly assignable to the later kings of Manetho's fourth, and to those of his fifth dynasty, are not any more remarkable than those which may be best referred to the times anterior to Khufu.

Besides their pyramids, the kings of the fourth and fifth dynasties built temples in a solid and enduring fashion, and within the last twenty years one of these has been dug out of the sand so far as to show what were its internal arrangements and general form and design. An account of this building, together with its ground plan, has been given in the first volume of this work.² It possesses the merit of great solidity and strength, and exhibits the employment of piers for the support of a roof, the original use of which grew the column. It is altogether without sculpture of any kind, the walls being perfectly plain and flat, and deriving their ornamentation entirely from the material of which they are composed, which is yellow alabaster,

of more price than princesses. *Herodotus* ii. 101.

This would be true, even if the entire Great Pyramid were the work of Menkaura, for it is less than one-seventh of the size of the

Second. But it is still more strikingly true, if we regard the original nucleus of the pyramid (see above, vol. i. p. 234) as made the work of Menkaura.

² See vol. i. pp. 215-10.

syenite, or arragonite. Still we are told that the effect of the whole is good. 'The parts are pleasingly and effectively arranged; and the entire building has that little grandeur which is inherent in large masses of precious materials.'¹

The sculpture of the pyramid period is also remarkable. Shafra, the probable builder of the temple just described, ornamented it with several statues of himself, which at a later time were thrown into a pit or well within the building, and for the most part, most unfortunately, broken. One, however, survives, perfect in all its parts except the beard;² and the upper half of another is in tolerable preservation;³ so that the glyptic art of the time can be pretty fairly estimated. Some statues belonging to the reign of the later king, Rameser, have also been furnished by the tomb of Th, and afford the critic further material upon which to form a judgment. The opinion of experts seems to be, that all the specimens have considerable merit.⁴ The figures are well proportioned; the faces carefully elaborated with all the minuteness of a portrait; the osseous structure and the muscles are sufficiently indicated; the finish is high, and the expression calm and dignified. There is, however, as universally in Egyptian sculpture, a certain stiffness, and an undue formality. The two feet are equally advanced; the arms repose side by side along the thighs, the head has no inclination to either side; the face looks directly in

¹ Ferguson, *History of Architecture*, vol. i. p. 106.

² An excellent representation of this statue is to be found in the work of M. de Rougé so often quoted (*Recherches sur les Monumens*, &c., &c. p. 64).

³ See the woodcut on p. 65 of this

volume.
⁴ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, pt. 18, 43. De Rougé, *Recherches*, p. 54.
M^{rs} Lepsius, *Monum. d'Égypte Ancienne*, vol. i. p. 237. Russell, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 78. (1st ed., &c.)

front of the figure; the beard is wholly conventional. If we compare the statues in question with even the archaic Greek, we shall find them exceedingly inferior in all that constitutes the excellence of art. But it may be questioned whether Egyptian art, in the matter of statuary, ever went beyond, or even equalled, the productions of this early period. * Art at this time," as Lenormant justly says,² "attains the most remarkable degree of perfection. It is thoroughly realistic; it aims, above everything, at rendering the bare truth of nature, without making any sort of attempt to idealise it. The type of man which it presents is characterised by something more of squatness and of rudeness than are seen in the works of the later schools; the relative proportions of the different parts of the body are less accurately observed; the muscular projections of the legs and arms are represented with too much exaggeration. Still, in this first and absolutely free development of Egyptian art, however imperfect it was, there lay the germs of more than Egypt ever actually produced, even in her most brilliant epochs. The art had life—a life which at a later date was choked by the shackles of sacerdotal tyranny. If the Pharaonic artists had preserved this secret to the time when they acquired their unequalled excellences of harmony of proportion and of majesty—qualities which they possessed in a higher degree than any other people in the world—they would have made as much progress as the Greeks; two thousand years before it was reached by the Greeks, they would have attained to the absolute

* As with the Egyptian hieroglyphs, with which I have taken much trouble to compare the Egyptian hieroglyphs in Brancaster in the British Museum are more on a par with the

Egyptian

² *Manual of Hittite Antiquities*, vol. 2, pp. 34, 1.



EARLY EGYPTIAN STATUES FROM MEYDOUN



perfection of artistic excellence. But their natural aptitudes were to a certain extent smothered in the cradle, and they remained imperfect, leaving to others the glory of reaching a point which will never be surpassed in the future.'

The principles laid down in this extract will apply, to a certain extent, to the bas-reliefs of the period and not merely to the sculptures 'in the round'. While these fall short considerably of the later Egyptian efforts in variety, in delicacy of touch, and in vigour of composition, they have a simplicity, a naturalness, and an appearance of life which deserve high praise, and which disappear at a later date, when the inflexible laws of the metric 'canon of proportions' come into force, and the artists have to work in fetters¹. Notwithstanding a coarseness and clumsiness in some of the human forms, and an occasional uncertainty in the delineation of the animal ones, the sculptures which ornament the tombs of Ghazeu and Seneferu, and which can be assigned almost with certainty to this period, are both interesting and pleasing. They show that Egyptian art is alive, is progressive, is aiming at improvement. The forms, especially the animal forms, are better as we proceed, they show greater freedom and variety of attitude, and the new attitudes are both graceful and true to nature. At the same time, there is no straining after effect; the modesty of nature is not outraged by the artists; there is still advantage of the simple and the conventional; the whole effect is quiet, tranquil, idyllic; we seem to see Egyptian country life

¹ Birch holds that there was a 'rule' (p. 270) note edition of 1878) 'canon of proportions' always, but less marked as time went on; that at that it varied at different periods, but the artists were free (Museum, *W. Wilkinson's Ancient Egyptians*, vol. 1, p. 345).

continue as scanty as ever, and are represented as



Ornaments worn by Men.

either red or yellow. They wear broad collars, very much like those of the men, and have sometimes brace-



Head-dresses worn by Women.

lets and anklets. The collars are commonly blue, or blue and white. The feet of the women are still in



Earliest Sandals.

every case naked; those of the men show sometimes

an inelegant sandal, which is at first a mere strap passed under the heel and secured upon the instep,¹ but afterwards has a sole extending the whole length of the foot.²

The division of classes, and the general habits of life, continued nearly as before, but the wealth of the upper class increased, and with it the extent of their households, and the number and variety of their retainers. Large landed estates descended from father to son, of which the cultivation necessitated the employment of hundreds of labourers or slaves. These required numerous superintendents; and the general business of the farm necessitated the services of sometimes a dozen scribes,³ who rendered their accounts to a steward or bailiff. The chief trades needed for providing the necessities of life were established upon the estate, and the carpenter, the potter, the tailor, the worker in metal, the furniture-maker, and even the glass-blower,⁴ seem to have had their place among the dependents of every opulent family, and to have worked for a single master. The estate itself consisted of two portions—arable and pasture lands; the former cultivated in grain and vegetables with great care, the latter utilised for the breeding and fattening of cattle. Domestication had by this time brought into subjection not only cows and oxen, but goats, sheep, several kinds

¹ See the *Denkmaier*, vol. iii. pt. ii. pls. 13, 50, 6. The former of these two monuments belongs to the time of Shafra.

² Ibid. pl. 50 c.

³ Scribes are seen at work from the time of Shafra. They have a pen or paint-brush in the right arm, and one or two behind the ear. With their left hand they hold

their paper and palette. They commonly sit or squat at their work (see the *Denkmaier*, pt. ii. pls. 11, 19, 51, &c.).

⁴ For glass-blowing, see the *Denkmaier*, vol. ii. pt. i. pls. 28 and 74, and for the other trades named see especially pl. 40 of the same work.

of antelope,¹ asses, and at least seven kinds of birds.² These included geese, ducks, pigeons, and cranes or herons,³ together with other species not to be distinctly recognised. The domestic fowl was, however, still unknown, and indeed remained a stranger to Egypt throughout the entire period of independence.⁴ The wealth of some landowners consisted to a large extent in their animals; we find one at a very early date who possessed above a thousand cows and oxen, besides 2,255 goats, 974 sheep, and 760 asses.⁵ Pet animals were also much affected, and included, besides dogs, the fox, the hare, the monkey, and the cynocephalous ape.⁶

An important produce of the farm was wine. Vines were trained artificially,⁷ and the juice was expressed from the grapes either by treading,⁸ or by means of a wine-press.⁹ After passing through the vat, it was drawn off and stored in amphoræ. Profit was also derived from the wild creatures which frequented the marshes or the waters included within the property. Fish were caught, split, and dried in the sun,¹⁰ after which they became an article of commerce; wild fowl were taken in clap-nets, and either killed or subjected to a process of domestication.

The ass was the only beast of burden; horses

¹ Domesticated antelopes are the only ones represented in the tomb of *Denamiser* pt. ii. pla. 12 b, 17 b, 23 b, 140, &c.

² Seven kinds of domesticated birds, with their respective names, are figured on a tomb, given in the *Denamiser* pt. i. pl. 70.

³ Cranes or herons are also very frequently represented among the property of a farm. *Ibid.* pla. 17 b, 43 c, 50 b, &c.

⁴ Birch, *Ancient Egypt* p. 45.

⁵ *Denamiser*, vol. i. pt. ii. pl. 10.

⁶ Foxes appear in pla. 13 14 c, 15 b, 45 c &c., hares in pla. 3, 12 b, and elsewhere, the common small monkey in pla. 10 b and c, and the cynocephalous ape in pl. 13.

⁷ See above vol. i. p. 107.

⁸ *Denamiser*, pt. ii. pl. 101 c.

⁹ *Ibid.* pla. 13. 40 60 c. &c.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* pla. 12 b and 42.

were unknown.¹ There were no wheeled vehicles; and the burdens which the asses were made to bear appear to have been excessive.² For heavy commodities, however, water carriage was preferred, and the Nile with its canals formed the chief means for the transportation of farming produce. Large boats were in use from a very early period, some being mere row-boats,³ while others were provided with masts, and could hoist a big square mainsail.⁴ The number of rowers was in the early times from eight or ten to eighteen or twenty, but at a later date we find as many as forty-six.⁵ When the sail was hoisted, the rowers ordinarily rested on their oars, or even slipped them and sat at their ease; but sometimes both sail and oars seem to have been employed together. A heavy kind of barge without a sail was used for the transport of cattle and of the more weighty merchandise,⁶ and was propelled by six or eight rowers. Light boats were also employed to a large extent for the conveyance of animals, for the saving of cattle from the inundation, and for sporting and other purposes.⁷

The amusements of the upper classes seem to have consisted mainly in hunting, fowling, and listening to music. Dogs were still of one kind only—that which has been called the ‘fox-dog’ or ‘wolf-dog,’⁸ which has long pricked-up ears, a light body, and a stuffy curled tail.⁹ This was admitted into the house, and in

¹ Herod., *Antient Egypt*, p. 44.

² See the *Denkmal*, pt. ii. pla. 43 a, 47, 50, 51 c, 52 b, &c.

³ Ibid. pla. 1, 12 a, 22 d &c.

⁴ Ibid. pls. 22 d, 45 a, 64 b, &c. For a representation, see above, vol. i. p. 508.

⁵ See the *Denkmal*, pt. ii. pl. 45 b.

⁶ Ibid. pls. 62, 103, and 104.

Compare Herod. ii. 41.

⁷ Lepsius, *Denkmal*, pt. ii. pla. 12 b, 50, 77 &c. Mariette, *Monuments Égyptiens*, pl. 17.

⁸ Wilkinson, *Antient Egyptians*, vol. ii. pp. 40 (edition of 1875), and Birch's note.

⁹ For a representation see above, page 47, and for another, see vol. i. p. 77, No. 2.

reflected as in a mirror. Delicacy may be sometimes shocked by the result; but what is lost in refinement is gained in truthfulness and accuracy of representation.

In religion there is also an advance, but one that is less satisfactory. The Pantheon increases in its dimensions. Besides the gods of the primitive time¹—Ra, Set, Thoth, Hor or Harmachis, Osiris, Isis-Athor, Ptah or Sokari, and Anubis—we find distinct traces of the worship of Nut, Seb, Khem, Kneph, Nenth, Ma, Saf, and Heka². Athor also is recognised as a substantive goddess, distinct from Isis;³ and Sokari appears to be distinguished from Ptah⁴. The esteem in which Ra is held has grown, and one half of the kings have appellations which are composed with his name.⁵ The title *son of the Sun*,⁶ begins to be used as a royal prefix,⁷ though not yet regularly. The divinity of the kings is more pronounced. They take the designations of 'the great god,' 'the good god,' 'the living Horus,' 'the good Horus,' as well as those of 'conquering Horus' and 'son of the Sun.' They add divine titles to their original names, as Khufu did when in the middle of his reign he became Num-Khufu. They institute the worship of their own divinity in their lifetime, appoint their sons or other grandees to the office of their prophet or priest, and

¹ See above, p. 38.

² Of Nut and Seb on the coffin of Menkaura, of Khem in the name Khem-en-De Rougé, *Recherches*, p. 50; and in the title taken by Shafra (supra, p. 61) of Kneph in Khufu's prefix of Nenth and Ma in the mentions of their prophetesses (De Rougé, pp. 46, 47, 51, 52, &c.) of Saf in the name Saf-hotep (ib. p. 43) and in the appellation *Saf-meri*, 'beloved of Saf,' applied to a certain Akahor (ib. p. 54), and of Heka in

one of the emphyments of Tahemka which includes his name (ib. p. 56).

³ De Rougé, pp. 72, 80, &c.

⁴ Ptah-ases, the favourite of Menkaura and Anesaf was priest both of Ptah (Ptah) and of Sokari (ib. p. 71).

⁵ *Ratatf Shaf-ra*, Menkaura, Sabura, Nesmarkara, Rousser, and Taktara.

⁶ Supra, pp. 61 and 77.

lous the persons so appointed with further favours. At the same time, however, they themselves worship the gods of the country, build temples to them, and assign lands to the temples by way of endowment.¹ Priests and 'prophets' are attached to these buildings, and the 'prophets' include persons of both sexes. The doctrine of the future life and of the passage of the soul through the Lower World acquires consistence; Osiris takes his place as the great Ruler of the Dead;² Anubis sinks to a lower position; and the 'Ritual' receives fresh chapters.³ Finally, the annual worship comes to the front; Apis has his priests and priestesses,⁴ and a 'white bull' and a 'sacred heifer' are also mentioned as invested with a divine character.⁵


An advance is also made in civilisation and the arts of life. Dress, on the whole, continues much the same; but the tunic of the higher classes becomes fuller, so as to project in front, and latterly it is made considerably longer, so as to descend halfway between the knee and the ankle.⁶ Its colour is either yellow or white, or partly one and partly the other, the yellow portion in such cases being often striped with lines of red.⁷ The colours worn by men become more complicated, and have sometimes a chain and pendant attached in front. Men are also seen with fillets adorning their heads,⁸ and women have head-dresses of various kinds, some of which are exceedingly elegant. Their long gowns

¹ De Rougé, *Recherches*, p. 47.

² *Ibid.* p. 65. Compare Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, pp. 41, 2.

³ *Ibid.* p. 65.

⁴ De Rougé, *Recherches*, pp. 44, 55-61, &c. Perhaps the females attached to the worship of Apis should be called 'prophetesses' rather than 'priestesses.' Their

title is *netet Anu*. ¶ not *ah*. 

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 51.





⁶ See the *Denkmäler*, vol. iii. pl.

a. pls. 75, 79.

Ibid. pls. 19, 20.

⁷ *Ibid.* pls. 73, 97. This, however, is very unusual.

commonly seen sitting under the chair of its master : but it was also frequently employed in the chase of wild animals. The antelope was no doubt the beast chiefly hunted, and the dogs must have been exceedingly fleet of foot to have run it down : but the chase appears to have included other animals also, as hares, jerrions, porcupines, lynxes, and even hedgehogs !¹ In some of the hieratic papyri, packs of hounds, numbering two or three hundred, are mentioned ;² but these belong to a later age, under the fourth and fifth dynasties we have no evidence that any individual hunted with more than three or four dogs at a time, or indeed possessed a greater number. Dogs had names, which are often written over or under their representations,³

eg. Abu, , Ken, , Tarm, , Akua  &c., as horses had at a later time ; but the other domestic pets would seem not to have enjoyed the distinction.

Fowling was practised in the way already described,⁴ by entering the reedy haunts of the wild fowl in a light skiff, provided with decoy birds, probably taught to utter their note, and thus approaching sufficiently near them to kill or wound them with a throw-stick. The throw-stick of the early times is either the curved weapon common later, or a sort of double blade-javelin presenting a very peculiar appearance.⁵

Music was an accompaniment of the banquet. It was always concerted, and in the time of the fourth and fifth dynasties consisted ordinarily of the harmony

¹ *Denkmäler*, pt. ii. pls. 12 and 46.

² Kirch in Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. ii. p. 100, note.

³ *Denkmäler*, pt. ii. pls. 17 c, 30 a, 42 and 52.





⁴ See above, vol. i. pp. 540-1.

⁵ *Denkmäler*, pt. ii. pl. 12 b.

of three instruments, the harp, the flute, and the pipe. Bands numbered about four or five persons, of whom two were harpers, one or two players on the flute, and one a piper. Two or three others assisted to keep time, and increased the volume of sound by the loud clapping of their hands.¹ All the *naua* and were men. Sometimes dancing of a solemn and formal kind accompanied the musical performance, both sexes taking part in it, but separately, and with quite different gestures.

An amusement, but a very occasional amusement, of the upper classes at this time would seem to have been literature. The composition of the ordinary inscriptions upon tombs, and in sepulchral chambers, belonged probably to a professional class, who followed conventional forms, and repeated with very slight changes the same stereotyped phrases upon monument after monument. But, now and then, there was a production of something which approached more nearly to a literary character. The 'Book of the Precepts of Prince Itah-hotep, though the only extant work of the kind which can be referred to this period, is probably a specimen of performances, not very uncommon, wherewith the richer and more highly educated classes of the time occupied their leisure, and solaced their declining years. It is stated to be 'the teaching of the governor, Itah-hotep, under the majesty of King Assa—long may he live! The object aimed at by the work was 'to teach the ignorant the principle of good words, for the good of those who listen, and to shake the confidence of such as wish to infringe.' It lays down, primarily, the duties of sons and of subjects, who

¹ *Denksmiller*, pls. 36 b, 62, 74 c, &c.

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¹ *Denkmäler*, pt. ii. pls. 12 and 40.

² *Denkmäler*, pt. ii. pls. 17 c, 36 a, 41 and 52.

³ Karch in Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. ii. p. 100, note.

⁴ See above, vol. i. pp. 541-1.

⁵ *Denkmäler*, pt. ii. pl. 12 b.

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¹ *Denkmäler*, pls. 36 b, 52, 74 c, &c.

are alike exhorted to obedience and submission. 'The obedience of a docile son, says Ptah-hotep, 'is a blessing, the obedient walks in his obedience. He is ready to listen to all which can call forth affection, obedience is the greatest of benefits. The son who accepts the words of his father will grow old in consequence. For obedience is of God, disobedience is hateful to God. The obedience of a son to his father, this is joy . . . such a one is dear to his father, and his renown is in the mouth of all those who walk upon the earth. The rebellious man, who obeys not, he goes on to say, 'sees knowledge in ignorance, the virtues in the vices, he commits daily with boldness all manner of crimes, and herein lives as if he were dead. What the wise know to be death is his daily life, he goes his way, laden with a heap of imprecations. Let thy heart,' he adds, 'wash away the impurity of thy mouth; fulfil the word of thy master. Good for a man is the discipline of his father, of him from whom he has derived his being. It is a great satisfaction to obey his words; for a good son is the gift of God.' And the upshot of all is—'The obedient will be happy through his obedience; he will attain old age, he will acquire favour. I myself have in this way become one of the ancients of the earth; I have passed 110 years of life by the gift of the king, and with the approval of the aged, fulfilling my duty to the king in the place of his favour.' The moral level attained cannot be regarded as high; but as a composition the work is not devoid of merit. The balance of ideas and of phrases recalls the main essential of Hebrew poetry;¹ the style is pointed and terse, the

¹ See the *Bampton Lectures* of the present Bishop of Derry, pp. 177-80.

expressions natural, the flow of the language easy and pleasing. If Ptah-hotep is not a great moral philosopher, he is a fair writer; there are passages in his work which resemble the Proverbs of Solomon or the Wisdom of the Son of Sirach.¹ We can well understand that in the infancy of literary composition, when there were no models to follow, or standards with which to fear comparison, men of education would find the *role* of author agreeable, and would devote to it a portion of their leisure time with a feeling of great satisfaction.

The advance of luxury is seen in the number and variety of the dishes served at the sacrificial feasts, where the joints may be counted by the dozen, ducks and geese by the half dozen, heaves by the score, cakes and rolls by the hundred, amphore by the dozen, and where the viands provided comprise also fish, fowls, onions, eggs, and fruit of a variety of kinds.² According to the best English authority, the Egyptian lord of this time 'no more disdained the hyæna for food than a modern epicure the semi-carnivorous bear, but he abhorred that universal animal, the pig, and neglected the sheep; veal and beef, not pork or mutton, were the principal meats that appeared at his table. The

1 As, for instance, the following:
1. 'I thou art become great after thou hast been humble and if thou hast attained riches as the perfect and art come to be the first man in thy city, if thou art known for thy wealth and dost become a great and art not thy heart grow proud because of thy riches, for it is God who has given them unto thee.'

2. 'Despise not another who is as thou wast, be towards him as thou wast to him.'

3. 'Hypocrites make no contact with any shade, but a small dan-

gence darkens the life of a great man.'

4. 'Good words shine more than the sun and when thou hast said them, they are like a lamp in thy house.'

5. 'The wise man is rewarded with what he knows, content dwells in his heart and his eyes speak words that are good.'

6. 'Let thy face be cheerful as long as thou livest. Has anyone who has ever entered the grave come back from it?'

¹ *Isis and Osiris*, pt. v. pls. 62, 67 b, 68 a, &c.

different kinds of venison were much prized; cranes and herons he sometimes ate, but his principal poultry consisted of different kinds of ducks and geese, the cheмпopex or vulpanser amongst them. The dove and the pigeon passed into his flesh-pots, nor was the un-
 and fish of the Nile unknown to him. His bread was made of barley, but conserves of dates and various kinds of biscuits or pastry diversified his diet; and of fruits he had grapes, figs, dates, of vegetables, the papaya, the onion, and other greens. Wine and beer were both drunk at the period, in addition to water and milk.¹ Among the elegancies of the banquet was the use of flowers. Lotus-es were carefully gathered by his servants in the ponds and canals, were wreathed round the wine jar and the water jar, twisted in garlands about the head of the host and his guests, decorated many of the dishes, and were held in the hand as a nosegay.² Instead of the stool which had contented his ancestors, he indulged not infrequently in a chair with a low back and a square arm, on which he rested his hand or elbow.³ When he left the house for an airing, he was sometimes conveyed in a species of palanquin, which was placed between two poles like a sedan chair, and borne on the shoulders of his servants.⁴ He encouraged art, and employed sculptors on portrait-statues of himself or his wife, which were either of wood or stone, and in the latter case were

¹ Bech. *Ancient Egypt*, p. 45.

² Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, pt. ii. pls. 12 a, c, d, e, 91, 67, 108, &c.

³ Ibid. pls. 57 b, 58 a, 60, 71 a, &c.

⁴ Ibid. pls. 50 and 101 b. In the former representation the man in the chair is seated upon a low stool, and in the latter twenty-two. The primitive palanquin is of a

ruler handspan that represented in vol. i. p. 100, was a b. due to the state of the original drawing.

⁵ See Mariette, *Monuments In-Égyptes* p. 26 and compare the statue in vol. ii. p. 42. For a wicker chair of this period, see Brugsch's *History of Egypt*, vol. i. opp. p. 111, lot 61.

occasionally colossal. These last were sometimes erect, sometimes sitting figures, and after completion were dragged into proper position by a number of men.¹

The condition of the lower orders was probably not very different in the primitive and in the pyramid periods, except during two reigns. While Khufu and Shafra were on the throne there must have been considerable oppression of the poor,² and suffering caused thereby, through the forced labour which they must have employed, the artificial concentration of vast masses of men on particular sites, and the accidents inseparable from the elevation into place of huge blocks of stone, when human rather than mechanical power was the motive force applied. But the lesser exertions of the other kings may have been reckoned an advantage by the dominating class, as furnished with an occupation untroubled with much danger, and raising the rate of wages by the demand which it produced upon the labour market. The increased wealth of the nobles, arising as it did chiefly from the great productiveness of the soil, and from skill in its cultivation, together with success in the breeding and treatment of cattle, must also have tended to raise the plebeian's position, and place him above the fear of want or even of real poverty. There is reason to believe that up to this period of Egyptian history there was no large employment of slaves, wars were of rare occurrence, and when they took place, not many prisoners could be made for the tribes upon the Egyptian borders were none of them numerous, slaves might occasionally be bought, but these passed immediately into domestic service,³ and the result was that but for the cultivation of

¹ Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, pt. II. pp. 84 bis, & num. 184.

² See above, p. 53.

³ And perhaps even *Exxix.* 1-4).

the soil and most of the other industrial pursuits, were in the hands of the native Egyptians, and furnished them with an ample variety of not disagreeable careers. We do not see the stick employed on the backs of the labourers in the early sculptures; they seem to accomplish their various tasks with alacrity and almost pleasure. They plough, and sow, and reap; drive cattle or asses; winnow and store corn; gather grapes and tread them, *singing in chorus as they tread*, cluster round the wine-press or the threshing floor, on which the animals tramp out the grain; gather lotuses; save cattle from the inundation, engage in fowling or fishing; and do all with an apparent readiness and cheerfulness which seems indicative of real content. It is true that the sculptures are not photographs; they *may* give a flattering picture of things, and not represent them as they were; but we do not generally find that oppressors care to conceal their oppression, or to make out that the classes which they despise are happy under their yoke. Add to this, that the Egyptian moral code required kindness to be shown towards dependents,* and the conclusion would seem to be at least probable, that the general contentment and cheerfulness of the labouring classes, which we seem to see in the sculptures of the pyramid period, was a reality.

* Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 40.

CHAPTER XV.

THE SIXTH DYNASTY—CULMINATION AND DECLINE

*Marked Division between the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties—Shift of Power to the South—First Evidence of a united Egypt—Giza, 1 (four Men-
surha, Teti, Pepi (Mentut, Merenra, and Neferkara—Probable
Position of Ati—Reign of Teti—Reign of Pepi—First great War—
Reflections to which it gives rise—Pepi's Dynasty and Fall—Position
of Unas under him—Reign of Pepi—Reign of Merenra—Reign of
Neferkara—Tombstones respecting Unas—Sudden Decline of Egypt
at the Close of the Sixth Dynasty—Culmination of the early Egyptian
Art, and Advance of Civilization under it*

* In primitive times even the Egyptians first were in southern dynasty. —
LEOPOLD DE MEYER, *Le Monde Ancien*, vol. i. p. 347.

BOTH Manetho and the author of the Turin papyrus regard the death of Unas as constituting a marked division in Egyptian history. Manetho, who made the 11th dynasty Elephantine,¹ declared the sixth to be Memphite,² thus affirming a separation of locality, and so probably of blood, between the two. The existing remains confirm the fact of such a separation, but exactly invert Manetho's local arrangement, commencing as they do in the strongest way the march of the fifth dynasty with Memphis and its vicinity,³ which they attach those of the sixth to Middle and Upper Egypt,⁴ and exhibit them as at any rate visiting Elephantine,⁵ if not adding their court there. The Turin papyrus is

¹ See *Manetho's Chronography*, p. 57 D.

² Ibid. p. 58 A.

³ In *Revue Archéologique*, pp. 70-7.

⁴ Ibid. p. 114. Compare B. *Revue d'Égypte*, vol. i. p. 60, and *Revue Archéologique*, 51.

⁵ *Revue d'Égypte*, vol. i. p. 4.

content to draw a strong line of demarcation at this point, without expressing the ground of it. On the whole, it would seem to be certain that, down to the death of Unas, Memphis was the great seat of Egyptian empire; while with the accession of the sixth dynasty there was a shift of power to the southward. Abydos, or some place in its neighbourhood, became the residence of the kings; the quarries of El-Kaab and Hamminat were worked instead of those of Mokattam; the vicinity of Abydos became the great burial place of the time. There was, however, no disintegration of the empire; Memphis continued subject to the kings who ruled in Middle Egypt, and both the extreme north and the extreme south owned their power. Their monuments are found at Tanis and at Assuan, as well as at Hamminat, El-Kaab, and Sainet el-Medinet, and they were evidently masters of Egypt in its widest extent, from 'the tower of Syene' to the Mediterranean.

What was the extent of the Egypt ruled by the great pyramid kings and the other monarchs of the fourth and fifth dynasties is more doubtful. As these monarchs worked the mines of Wady Magharab, we must suppose them to have held under their sway the entire low tract east of the Nile from Memphis to the Syrian Desert; and they *may* have been masters also of the Delta, and of the Nile valley as far as the cataracts. But it is important to note that we have no proof that they were. The monarchs of what we have called 'the Pyramid period' are only proved to have possessed the tract about Memphis, and the line of country connecting that tract with the mines of Wady

* Brugsch, *History of Egypt, Denkmäler*, vol. iv. pt. i. pls. 105-107, pp. 98-101, 1st ed.; Lepsius, 117.

Magharah—there are no memorials of them in the Delta, none in Upper Egypt,¹ none even in Middle Egypt—and it is possible that those tracts were not under their rule. With the sixth dynasty we have the first evidence of a united Egypt, of monarchs who reign over the entire Nile valley from Elephantine to the marsh tract bordering upon the Mediterranean Sea.² At the same time we come upon the first evidence of a decidedly martial spirit,³ of expeditions on a large scale, of elaborate military training, of the attention of the nation being turned to arms from agriculture. It is a reasonable conjecture that the kings of the sixth dynasty, more warlike than their predecessors, may have been the first to make that united Egypt which we find existing in their day, and that their foreign conquests may have been the result of a previous internal consolidation of the Egyptian power in its own proper territory.

The sixth dynasty is mainly composed of a group of four monarchs, who bore the names of Teti, Pepi, or Merri, Merenra, and Neferkara.⁴ The last three were near relations—Pepi being the father of both Merenra

¹ No doubt the granite syenite Ae., used in the pyramids and their enclosures, and in these kings, and may have been obtained from Upper Egypt and the free importation of it so abundant makes it possible that their authority extended to Syria, but this probably is fallacious, and it is not possible that they supported the power from the southern of other minor kings.



² It is conceivable, however, that even at this time there may have been independent kings in the western part of the Delta at Sais, for instance, or Xois, or even at

Sakkarah (Memphis).

³ The only indications of war furnished by the monumental record are the names of Sememps, Rofa, and Sakhm at Wady Magharah, and the inscription of a certain *sculptor* in the temple of the goddess, *Recherches* pp. 14, 144 Ae.

⁴ These four monarchs form a connected group, in the monuments (Ch. Reu. pp. 148-50), and in the table of Saqqarah. The inner portion of this closely unites three of the four, Teti, Pepi, or Merri. *Records of the Past*, vol. ii. pp. 3 and 6.

and Neferkara, who succeeded in due order to their father's sovereignty. Whether Teta belonged to the same family is uncertain. The Egyptian kings of the early period very rarely note their relationship one to another,¹ and it is quite an exceptional circumstance that we are able to trace the family connection of three consecutive monarchs in this dynasty.

Besides the four chief monarchs of the time, around whom the history clusters, we have three other monumental names, apparently belonging to the same period, the exact position of which in the list it is difficult to determine. These are Ati, Tserkara, and Imhotep. Ati, , appears in an inscription at Hammamat, set up in his first year,² which shows him to have built a pyramid called Ba-u, or that 'of the souls'. In style the inscription so closely resembles those of other kings of this time that it is supposed to prove him a monarch of the dynasty,³ though probably one whose reign occupied but a short time and was not of any importance. What exact position should be given him is open to question. Some critics, assimilating his name to that of the Macedonian Odysseus, are inclined to put him first, and to regard him as the founder of the sixth dynasty.⁴ Others would give him the second place in the dynasty, directly after Teta,⁵ in which case it would be natural to regard him as identical with Tserkara, , to whom the title of Sen I at Abydos assigns


¹ Each king is so absorbed in the praise of his own country as to neglect all reference to his house or progenitors. The kings generally omit mention of any who go before them, and may partly in consequence.

² Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. iv. pt. B. pl. 135 f.


³ Th. Hengst, *Recherches*, p. 149.

⁴ As Lelewel and (before him) Hengst supposed, *op. cit.* p. 149.

⁵ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 17, loc. cit. Th. Hengst (loc. cit.) thinks Ati may have held a high position.

that position. Inhotep, , might in that case be relegated to the period following Neferkara, if indeed he were really a king of Egypt, which scarcely appears from his inscription.¹

Omitting from further consideration these insignificant and doubtful monarchs, we shall regard the sixth dynasty as consisting of four chief kings—Teta, Pepi (= Merita), Merenra, his son, and Neferkara, Merenra's brother, and of a single queen, Nefertis (Net-akert), who terminated the series.

Teta, , who succeeded Unas, either directly or after a very short interval,² was not a monarch of my distinction. He built a pyramid which he called *Tet-asa*,³ 'the (most) lasting of places'; and he conferred favours on an officer named Saba, or Abeta, whom he made his companion in his voyages, and otherwise distinguished above all the rest of his courtiers.⁴ He also must be allowed the credit of having recognised the promise of more than ordinary talent in a youth of the official class named Unu, whom he selected from the mass of candidates, and attached immediately to his person. Unu, who became the right hand of Teta's successor, Pepi, and of Pepi's son, Merenra, received his first promotion from King Teta, who conferred upon him the dignities of 'crown-bearer,' 'superintendent of the storehouse,' and 'registrar,' or 'sacred scribe, of the docks.'⁵

Pepi, the probable successor of Teta, reigned in

¹ *Denkmalen*, vol. iv. pt. ii. n. 1154. The name has the exact value certainly—but it is not possessed or followed by any royal title.

² Unu's inscription (*Records of the Past*, vol. ii. p. 3) is sufficient proof of this.

³ Or 'Tet-astu' according to Brugsch (l.c.). Its position is at present unknown.

⁴ He is called, *Reckenwies*, pp. 110-11.

⁵ *Records of the Past*, l.c.

the two names of Pepi, $\mathbf{m} \mathbf{p} \mathbf{p}$, and Merira, $\mathbf{m} \mathbf{r} \mathbf{r}$, by which he seems to have designated himself indifferently. In one tablet¹ we see two representations of him, seated back to back, and accompanied by inscriptions equally descriptive of royalty, in one of which the name Pepi, and in the other the name Merira, is



Tablet of Pepi.

attached to the 'image of his majesty.' Pepi had a prosperous and a long reign, though certainly not the hundred years assigned him by Manetho,² since Unas

¹ Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. ix. pt. ii. pl. 115 a.

² Ap. Synce. *Chronograph*, to i. p. 58, a. This has generally been understood to be Manetho's view, according to Africanus. Eusebius,

who was grown to manhood and held high office in the reign of his predecessor, outlived him by several years, and was after his death in the employment of his son and successor.¹ His eighteenth year is the highest mentioned on the monuments;² but it is probable that he reigned longer. Pepi is the first king of Egypt who exhibits a marked warlike tendency. In his second year³ he made an expedition against the Mentu, who had recovered possession of the Sinaitic peninsula, and, having reduced them, set up his tablet in a somewhat unusual form⁴ on the rocks of the Wady Magdarah. Not long after, he turned his arms against the Amu and the Horusha, two peoples living in the sands of the desert to the east of Lower Egypt.⁵ Regarding these enemies as really formidable, Pepi exerted himself to collect and drill an army of unusual size, counted by tens of thousands.⁶ His first levies were made in the north among the native Egyptians; but looking upon the forces thus raised as insufficient, he determined to obtain the strength that he deemed requisite by calling on the negro tribes of the south to furnish him with a contingent. The date at which these tribes were made subject to Egypt is uncertain, but it was clearly before the time of Pepi; and his power over them was so completely established that he

however, unless Manetho say that he was the first who ascended the throne at the age of six and lived to be a hundred (lib. 28, 1).

¹ *Records of the Past*, vol. ii. pp. 6, 8.

² Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. iv. pt. ii. p. 110 a.

³ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 53. *Denkmäler*, &c.

⁴ The tablet consists of two parts. In the left-hand compart-

ment Pepi is represented as king of Upper Egypt driving one of the Mentu, a chief and one of his people, as king of Lower Egypt having the sign horn and ram on his head.

⁵ See Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 18, 1st ed. Compare De Rougé's *Recherches*, p. 129, and Birch (*Ancient Egypt*, p. 52).

⁶ *Records of the Past*, vol. ii. p. 4, line 14.

had only to demand troops and they were furnished. From Arret, from Zam,¹ from Amam, from Uant, from Knuu, and from Tatum, the swarthy bands gathered themselves together, and entering southern Egypt placed themselves at the disposition of the Pharaoh. They were no doubt a wild and disorderly crew, and it was of the first necessity to set officers over them, and subject them to a course of drill, in order to render their services of any value. The persons entrusted with this duty were a somewhat motley assemblage. They consisted of 'the nomarchs, the chancellors, the close friends of the palace, the superintendents, the rulers of the nomes of the North and of the South, the superintendents of the gold region, the superintendents of the priests of the South and of the North, the superintendents of the register, and of various other officers of the South, and of the North, and of the cities.'² Whether the drill which took place under their auspices was effectual or not it is impossible to say. The troops, however, when regarded as sufficiently trained, were concentrated. Then, the official above mentioned, and the historian of the campaign, prepared the commissariat, 'went out on sandals' in his assiduous performance of the task allotted him; after a march of some considerable length, the country of the Herushu was reached, and the war began. 'The warriors came, says him, and destroyed the land of the Herushu, and returned fortunately home; and they came again, and took possession of the land of the Herushu, and returned fortunately home; and they came and demolished the fortresses of

¹ So Brugsch made the word in p. 41, line 12.)
History of Egypt, vol. i. p. 400. ² *Records*, &c. d. p. 6. Compare
 1st ed. 'Oblique gives the name De Rougé, *Atchiches*, p. 124.
 as 'Nani' (*Records of the Past*, vol.]

the Herusha, and returned fortunately home; and they cut down the vines and the big trees, and returned fortunately home; and they set fire to the houses, and returned fortunately home, and they killed the chief men by tens of thousands, and returned fortunately home. And the warriors brought back with them a great number of living captives, which pleased the king more than all the rest. Five times did the king send me out to set things right in the land of the Herusha, and to subdue their revolt by force: each time I acted so that the king was pleased with me.¹ Even yet, however, the war was not over. The enemy collected in a tract known as Takheta, to the north of their own proper country, and took up a threatening attitude. Once more the Egyptian army was sent against them, this time conveyed in boats, and gained a complete victory; the country was subdued to the extreme frontier towards the north, and acknowledged the supremacy of Pepi.²

The locality of this campaign is somewhat doubtful. It has been regarded as either Syria or some portion of Arabia Petraea,³ and Pe, i has been supposed to have sent his troops to their destination *by sea*.⁴ But the latest critic suggests a district of the Delta as the true scene of the struggle, believing that the more northern portions of this tract, the country round Lake Menzaleh, was at this time occupied by the ancestors of the Bedouin tribes who now inhabit the desert of Suez.⁵ In this case the boats employed would merely have descended the Nile, or have traversed portions of the lake just mentioned.

The circumstances of the expedition give rise to

¹ De Beugé, *Recherches*, p. 125.

² *Ibid.* p. 126.

³ *Annals of the Past*, vol. ii. p. 11.

⁴ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*,

⁵ De Beugé, *Recherches*, p. 127.

vol. i. p. 131, 1st ed.

certain reflections. In the first place, it is remarkable that we find the negro races of the south already subdued without any previous notice, in any of the Egyptian remains, of the time or circumstances of their subjugation. One writer, seeing the difficulty, boldly states that 'Pepi reduced these enemies to obedience,'¹ but this fact, which is not mentioned by any authority, has been evolved out of his inner consciousness. We find the negroes already obedient subjects of Pepi when they are first mentioned as coming into contact with him, and his enlisting of them as soldiers to fight his battles would seem to imply that their subjugation had not been very recent. It is necessary to suppose that some monarch of the fourth or fifth dynasty had made them Egyptian subjects, without leaving behind him any record of the fact, or at any rate without leaving any record that has escaped destruction.

In the next place, it may raise some surprise, that, when there is a mention of so many nations as near neighbours to Egypt upon the south, nothing is said respecting the Cushites or Ethiopians. In later times Cushite races bordered Egypt on the south, and fierce wars were waged between the Pharaohs and the Ethiopian monarchs for the mastery of the valley of the Nile. But in the time of Pepi the Cushites were evidently at a distance. The conjecture is made that they had not yet immigrated into Africa, but still remained wholly in their original Asiatic seats, and only crossed at a later date, by way of the Straits of Babel-Mandeb, into the tract upon the middle Nile which they subsequently inhabited.² But perhaps this is too violent a supposition. The negro races mentioned in the an-

¹ Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. I. p. 344.

² *Ibid.*

scription of Unu need not have inhabited a very large tract of country; and the Cuslites may have held all Abyssinia without obtaining mention in the inscription of Unu or even attracting the attention of Pepi.

Trifly, the question may be asked, Who were the Herusha? De Rouge translates the word 'lords of the sands,' and suggests that they were a Syro-Arabian race,¹ but can give no geographic or other illustrations. Of course, if the word is Egyptian and descriptive, not ethnic, it is in vain to look for parallels to it among real ethnic appellatives. Later mentions of the Herusha place them towards the north, and give them a productive land,² such as can scarcely be found in this direction nearer than Palestine.

Like his predecessor, Teti, and like most monarchs of the fourth and fifth dynasties, Pepi constructed a pyramid, to receive his remains when he should pass from earth. The name which he gave to it was Men-nefer, 'the good above'—the same designation as that of the old capital, Memphis, which had now probably ceased to be the residence of the court. The white stone sarcophagus, which he intended to occupy the sepulchral chamber of his edifice, and which no doubt ultimately received the royal mummy, was conveyed, by Unu, at his order, from the Mokattam quarries in 'the great boat of the inner palace,'³ with its cover, a door, two jambs, and a basin or pedestal, to the site chosen for the tomb. Other works assigned to Pepi are repairs to the temple of Athor at Denderah,⁴ and one or more edifices at Tuna in the Delta, which he adorned with blocks of pink syenite brought from

¹ *Recherches*, p. 127, note.

² De Rouge, *Recherches*, p. 110,

³ *Recherches de l'Institut*, vol. vi, p. 10, note.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 3.

the quarries of Upper Egypt.¹ He also caused sculptures to be carved on the rocks of Wady Magharah² and Hammanut;³ and made use of the quarries of El Kaab,⁴ where numerous inscriptions contain his name, and record his greatness. It was probably in connection with these many works that Pepi received with such extreme satisfaction the prisoners taken by his troops in their campaigns against the Hrusha; he obtained thereby a most welcome addition to the body of labourers which was engaged constantly in his buildings.

The titles assumed by Pepi possess in some cases a peculiar interest. Besides the usual epithets of 'King of Egypt' and 'lord of the double diadem,' he calls himself 'lover of the two lands,' 'lover of his race,' 'son of Athor, mistress of Benderah,' 'lord of all life,' and 'the triple conquering Horus.' The 'two lands' are no doubt Upper and Lower Egypt, and the 'race' intended may be either his own family or the nation of the Egyptians; the claim to be 'son of Athor' recalls the similar claim of Khufu, who, like Pepi, adorned the temple of that goddess at Benderah;⁵ 'lord of all life,' though not a usual title,⁶ is one to which we can quite understand an Egyptian king laying claim, the only title difficult to explain is that of 'the triple conquering Horus,' which does not occur either earlier or later. De Rouge, who notes that many of the later kings assume the title of 'double conquering Horus,'

¹ De Rouge, *Recherches*, p. 115.

² See above, p. 4.

³ Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, pt. ix. pl. 116 a, c, f. &.

⁴ Ibid. pt. 117.

⁵ Brugsch *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 64, 1st ed.

⁶ Pepi takes it again at Wady Magharah (*Denkmäler*, pt. ix. pl. 111 c), and it is assumed also by Huseros (ib. pl. 152). Compare Ptolemy's *archo-wedemont*. I have now 1119 years of rule by the rule of two king-supra, p. 124.

in connection with their sway over the two Egypts,¹ suggests that the 'triple Horns' of Pepi contains an allusion to his having extended his rule over the negro territory south of Upper Egypt:² but it is perhaps more probable that a triple division of Egypt itself is glanced at,³ and that Pepi, who held his court in Central Egypt—the later Haptanomis—meant to indicate his sovereignty over the Delta and the Thebaid, as well as over that region.

The glories of Pepi's reign were, it is probable, due in some degree to his ministers. Unu, who had owed his first elevation and promotion to Pepi's predecessor, Teti, continued in high favour during the whole of Pepi's reign, and held under him a number of most important appointments. He was 'proprietor of the royal pyramid,' 'royal secretary' and 'keeper of the secrets,' 'sole companion,' 'superintendent of the dock,' and 'superintendent of the land of Khent.'⁴ After being employed in the procuring of the royal sacrifices with its appurtenances, he was given a commission of a military character, which associated him closely with the various expeditions against the Heretah, and gave him some ground for claiming the final success as his own.⁵ Ankh Merira, buried at Saqqarah, was 'governor of the quarries opposite Memphis,' and 'chief director of public works' under Pepi: Pepi-Nekht was 'chief *hah*' and 'governor of the town of the pyramid.'⁶

In his family relations Pepi was fairly fortunate

¹ *Recherches*, p. 110. He only mentions the fact that the two Egypts were his, but the title is not without significance. See the *Diogenes* author, pp. 111, 112, 113.

² *Recherches*, p. 117.

³ On the recognition of this di-



vision, see above, v. 1, p. 25, note.

⁴ *Records of the Past*, vol. 1, p. 4, 4.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 6, note 6.

⁶ Dr. Rungö, *Aegyptische*, § 120.

His first wife, Amles,¹ appears indeed to have died before him; but he did not prove inconsolable. He contracted a second marriage after a time with Ankhnese-Merira, a noble lady, though not of royal birth, who bore him at least two sons, Merenra and Neferkara, and outlived him by several years. Ankhnese-Merira was buried in the cemetery of Abydos; and her tomb bears an inscription, in which she is called 'royal wife of Merira, great in favour, great in grace, great in all things, companion of Horus, mother of Merenra, king of the two Egypts; and mother of Neferkara, king of the two Egypts.'² Her father, Khua, was loaded with favours by his son-in-law and his grandsons, who made him 'chief of the town of the pyramid,' 'lord of the diadem,' 'commander of the great men both of the North and of the South,' 'commandant of the chief cities of Lower Egypt,' and 'chief of every dignity in things divine.'³

On the death of Pepi, Mer-en-ra,  , the elder of his two sons, became king. Merenra's disposition seems to have been altogether peaceful. Scarcely had he mounted the throne when he gave directions to Unu, whom he had made governor of Upper Egypt, to employ himself in the quarrying of blocks of stone for the pyramid, Shu-nefer, which he was bent on constructing for his own tomb, and in the obtaining of a handsome sarcophagus, together with a granite doorway and doors for the sepulchral apartment of the pyramid.⁴ This commission executed, Unu was immediately ordered to procure a great slab of alabaster

¹ *Records of the Past*, vol. ii. p. 4.

² See M. le Rougé's *Recherches*, p. 132, where the inscription is given at length.

³ Or 'head of the entire succession,' as De Rougé explains (ibid. p. 132).

⁴ *Records of the Past*, vol. ii. p. 7.

from the quarries of Hat-nub (Ombos?), to form a sepulchral table or altar; such as appears commonly in the representations of the sacrificial feasts in tombs. At the same time he was required to begin the construction of docks in the country of the Iu-nat, which were no doubt connected with the Nile, and were intended to shelter the transports which it was necessary to employ in the conveyance of the granite needed for the royal pyramid. Wood was plentiful in the Iu-nat country and its neighbourhood; the negroes were friendly; and the chiefs of Areret, Canat, Arami, and Mu furnished timber in such abundance that four transports—probably great rafts²—were constructed in the course of a year. These were loaded with the granite blocks prepared for the pyramid, and, safely passing the cataracts at the height of the inundation, conveyed their burden to the site which Merenra had chosen.³ It was probably during the progress of Ura's labours that the king in person visited the quarries of Assuan near Ithpoutine, and set up the tablet, still to be seen in that locality, on which he distinctly states that "the king himself both came there and returned."⁴

It is thought that Merenra did not rule very long.⁵ He was succeeded by his younger brother Nub-khert, •Iu, to whom the fragments of the Turin papyrus appear to assign a reign of twenty years.⁶ He too made a pyramid, to which he gave the name of Men-

¹ *Records of the Past*, vol. ii. p. 7.

² Sixty cubits long by ten's width, according to Hugsch's *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 136 (transl.).

³ *Records of the Past*, vol. ii. p.

⁴ The Brien is of opinion that this implies a rise in the Nile water in the condition of the Nile waters about the site of the first Cataract.

to which it and a determination. (*Ancient Egypt*, p. 54.)

⁵ See Hugsch, *Recherches*, p. 102.

⁶ *Ancient Egypt*, p. 53.

⁷ See De Meung, *Inscriptions*, p. 102.

whom a sole reign is assigned; and modern critics are inclined to accept the reign as a fact,¹ and as belonging to this dynasty. The chief event of the reign, if it be admitted as historical, is the completion of the third pyramid, begun by Mencheres. Manetho makes Nitocris its builder,² Herodotus, who assigns it to Menkaure (Mycerinus), reports a tradition, as prevalent,³ which made it the work of a woman. The peculiar construction of the pyramid lends itself to the theory that in its present shape it is the work of two distinct sovereigns.⁴ If Nitocris is to be regarded as really the finisher of the edifice, she must be considered a great queen, one of the few who have left their mark upon the world by the construction of a really great monument. The pyramid of Mencheres, as designed and erected by him, was a building of but moderate pretensions, considerably less than many of those at Abousir and elsewhere,⁵ which have conferred no fame on their constructors. It was the addition made to the pyramid by its enlarger which alone entitled it to take rank among 'the Three,' that, ever since the time of Herodotus, have been separated off from all other edifices of the kind, and placed in a category of their own. It was, moreover, the casing of the enlarged pyramid, which was of a beautiful red granite up to half the height,⁶ that caused this pyramid to be especially adored, and the casing was necessarily the work of the later builder.

¹ Lenoirant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne* v. i. l. p. 345. Brugsch *History of Egypt* vol. i. pp. 107-9. let ed. Birch *Ancient Egypt* p. 64.

² Ap. Syncr. *Chronograph.* l. vi.

³ Herod. ii. 104.

⁴ See above, vol. i. p. 104, and

compare Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 104, let ed.

⁵ As those of Sahure and Ran-
set (supra, pp. 71 and 73-4).

⁶ Herod. l. c. Compare Vyse, *Pyramids of Ghizeh*, vol. ii. p. 130.

The other traditions attaching to the name of Nitocris, resting as they do on the sole authority of Herodotus, can scarcely be regarded as historical. She is said to have succeeded a brother, who had been murdered by his subjects, and to have avenged his death in the following extraordinary fashion.—‘ Having constructed a spacious underground chamber, under pretence of inaugurating it, she invited to a banquet there those of the Egyptians whom she knew to have had the chief share in her brother’s murder, and, when they were feasting, suddenly let the river in upon them by means of a secret duct of large size.’ Having so done, she smothered herself in a chamber filled with ashes, to escape the vengeance which she regarded as awaiting her. It is difficult to imagine that any sovereign would, under any circumstances, have pursued so roundabout a method of avenging a predecessor; it is certain that the Egyptians were wholly averse to suicide, such a suicide as this related has no parallel in mundane history, and is about as unlikely a death for any one to select as could be imagined.

Still, it is thought that, however incredible the details, they may yet mark an historic fact, viz., that about this time ‘murder and violence prevailed in the Egyptian kingdom’—there were many ‘competitors for the throne,’ and their rivalry produced convulsions, amid which ‘the vessel of the State continually approached nearer and nearer to destruction’—the monarchy was disintegrated, several small kingdoms were formed; civil war raged, and monuments wholly ceased; it was only after a considerable interval—an interval which here are no means of measuring*—that once more a

* Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 107, 108, 1st ed.

* Maxmüller’s remarks furnish the sole basis for any measurement at

flourishing community arose in Egypt, located in a new place, which has left undying traces of itself in tablets, brick pyramids, rock sculptures and *stelæ* or tombstones, and is the not unworthy successor of the earlier kingdom, which can be traced, almost without a break, from Senosertu to Nitocris.

Before, however, the decline set in, the early civilisation reached its culminating point under the kings of Maratho's sixth dynasty. Some of the best Egyptian statues, as one on which the gallery of the Louvre especially prides itself, are of this period.¹ The subjects of the bas-reliefs, the modes of representation, and the general drawing of the figures are much the same as during the previous dynasties; but the treatment is in some respects better. True relief occasionally takes the place of the peculiarly Egyptian *encre-rouge* of the earlier time,² where the whole outline is deeply incised, with a hardness of effect that is unpleasant. Something more of freedom is also observable in the animal forms, and something more of life and action in the human figures.³ Architecture, however, does not advance, the best pyramid of the period—that completed by Nitocris upon the nucleus afforded by the small construction of Menchereh—is very inferior, both in size

sh., but there are at this point a few good examples of sculpture, and the names of Menes with respect to them to the extent of 500 years.⁴

¹ The Louvre says (p. 100) "L'art pharaonique atteint son apogée sous la sixième dynastie." ("The Egyptian art reaches its height under the sixth dynasty.") The Louvre says (p. 100) "L'art pharaonique atteint son apogée sous la sixième dynastie." ("The Egyptian art reaches its height under the sixth dynasty.") The Louvre says (p. 100) "L'art pharaonique atteint son apogée sous la sixième dynastie." ("The Egyptian art reaches its height under the sixth dynasty.")

and in figure. The Louvre says (p. 100) "L'art pharaonique atteint son apogée sous la sixième dynastie." ("The Egyptian art reaches its height under the sixth dynasty.") The Louvre says (p. 100) "L'art pharaonique atteint son apogée sous la sixième dynastie." ("The Egyptian art reaches its height under the sixth dynasty.")

² See particularly the *Deuchidion*, p. 100, and p. 110.

³ See particularly the *Deuchidion*, p. 100, and p. 110.

and constructive skill, to the great monuments of Khufu and Shafu. There are no temples now remaining which can be referred to the time,¹ nor is there any novelty in the plan or ornamentation of the tombs. The forms of the gods are still absent from the eternal houses, though they appear on the sculptured tablets of the kings.

In the arts of life we observe two or three small advances. Stools are for the most part superseded by chairs with a low back.² The use of sandals spreads from the grandees to their upper servants.³ The somewhat dangerous sport of spearing the crocodile from a light boat is indulged in;⁴ and the domestication of dogs has produced a new type.⁵ In another direction



Second type of Egyptian Dog.

we observe a change that is scarcely a mark of progress. War has become an element in the life of the people, and the manufacture of arms has grown into a trade. We see the fashioning of spears and bows in the sculptures,⁶ and meet with occasional instances of figures where a dagger is worn in the belt.⁷ Armourers are noticed as a distinct class,⁸ and drove no doubt a brisk trade. The division of labour continued to ex-

¹ Brech. *Ancient Egypt*, p. 65.
² See, for place of this period remain.

³ See the *Denkmäler*, pt. ii. pl. 104, 111.

⁴ Pl. i. pl. 106, 107.

⁵ See the representation in vol. i. of this work (p. 546), which is from a tomb of this period.

⁶ *Denkmäler*, pt. ii. pl. 108. In

the pyramid period we find one dog or two which stand each on its legs and has a stiffly curled tail (see pt. ii. p. 80, note 2).

⁷ *Denkmäler*, l. c.

⁸ As in a statue of the period, now in the British Museum, No. 66.

⁹ *Records of the Past*, vol. viii. p. 151.

the divinity to whom an object was dedicated could not but hold the first place on that object. Next to Phthah is placed Thoth, and next to Thoth a rare deity, called Petmutf, who is said to 'dwell in the houses of the Ocean'.¹ These three gods are figured, and not merely named, on the monument: they occupy the first column of the inscription, which may be called 'the column of the dedication,' and thus stand quite separate from the remaining deities, with whom they do not enter into comparison. Thoth, however, has his place among these, appearing not in the first column only, but also in several of the remaining ones; and thus his place among the gods can be determined.

The gods generally appear to be divided into two classes, the universal and the local. The universal, or those worshipped in common by all the Egyptians, are, besides Sutech, 'Heating' (who seems to be placed first because through her the gods *hear* prayers), Tum, Khepri, and Shu, the Sun Gods,² Shu being accompanied by his wife, Tefnu or Tefnut;³ then, the deities of the Osiris legend, Seb, Neptu, Osiris himself, Isis, Set, Nephtys, and Horus,⁴ next, Ra, with whom are joined three abstractions, Renpu, 'the Year,' Het, 'an Age,' and Jeta, 'Eternity';⁵ after these, three other abstractions—Ankh, 'Life,' Tut, 'Stability,' and Aut, 'Triumph';⁶ then, Thoth under two forms;⁷ and finally, an unnamed god, called 'the Great One of the five in Apu Sekhet'. These deities seem to admit of the following arrangement.—

¹ *Translations of Bibl. Arch.* 86—
egy. vol. iii. p. 114.

² *Supra*, vol. i. pp. 346-353.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 387-8.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 357-8.

⁵ The earthly and the infernal
 'Thoth in the house of selection,'
 and 'Thoth at the balance' (*supra*,
 vol. i. p. 372).

PERSONA.

ABSTRACTIONS.

Salem.

1. Tum.
2. Khopra
3. Shu.
4. Tefné.
5. Seb.
6. Netph.
7. Oshé.
8. Isis.
9. Set.
10. Nephthys.
11. Horus.

12. Ra.

{ Year.
Age.
Eternity.
Life.
Stability
Triumph.

13. Thoth

14. The Great One of the Five.

Among the local gods, who are enumerated after these, many occur more than once, as being objects of worship in more than one city.¹ The most important of them are Ptah, worshipped in Memphis; Num or Khnum, in Elephantine; Sabak, at Letopolis and elsewhere; Ator, at Meusa and Denderah; Bast, at Bubastis; Mentu, at Uas or Hermonthis; Neith, at Tena or This; Anubis, at Sep; Nisum,² at Aukaf, and Kartek, a form of Taout,³ at Putek. The gods of the first list also occur in the second, since many of them were the objects of a *special* local worship. Abstractions also occur in this list, and genus, such as 'the Four of Ament' ⁴. Altogether, including manifest abstractions, there seem to be about fifty objects of worship mentioned, of which some twenty-five or thirty are proper deities.

¹ Sabak, for instance, is worshipped in five cities. Ptah or Harmachis in nine, Anubis in three, Ator in three, &c.

² See, vol. i. p. 400.

³ Ibid. p. 383.

⁴ Ibid. p. 397.

The list is important, as well for what it omits as for what it contains. It is very noticeable that still, though the court has moved to Abydos, and has Thebes under its sway, there is no mention of Ammon. It is also very curious that Kheam is omitted, especially as Pepi is seen worshipping him in his grossest form in a tablet at Hamauna.¹ Other omissions, less surprising, but still noticeable, are those of Maut, Sati, Aten, Khepsu, Onuris, Amhept, Anuka, Ma, Heka, and Bes. Rapid as the growth of the Pantheon has been since the date of the great pyramid kings,² it is not yet complete. Not only have numerous local worshipers yet to be absorbed into the general Egyptian religion, but fresh deities have still to be invented or discovered, fresh ideas to be developed. Ancient polytheism is a Proteus, always varying its form, and abhorrent of finality. The religion of Egypt had to pass through many different phases before it reached its final shape; and we shall still have to note various other important modifications of it in that portion of the Egyptian history with which we have to deal in these volumes.

¹ *Dunkerton*, vol. ix pt. ii pl. 115 c.

² Compare above, pp. 28 and 84-5.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE DYNASTIES BETWEEN THE SIXTH AND THE TWELFTH.

No Monuments left by any Dynasty between the Sixth and the Eleventh, which were, however, separated by an Interval. Disintegration of Egypt. Several Kingdoms of Memphis, Hieracopolis, and Thebes. Causes of the Disintegration and Decline, and probable Length of the Interval. Situation of Thebes. Its Antiquity, Name, and primitive Position. Rise of Thebes to Independence. Dynasty of the Antef and Mentuhotep. Reign of Nankhkara. Expulsion to Pant. Close of the Dynasty. Features of the Early Theban Civilization.

* After the sixth dynasty a succession of gaps, which can neither be filled up nor bridged over, occurred till the seventh dynasty began, known Egypt, p. 50.

Of the five dynasties which Manetho placed between the sixth and the twelfth, one only—the eleventh—has left any monumental traces. It has been argued by some that this dynasty was contemporary with the sixth, if not even with the fourth;¹ but the latest discoveries seem to render this theory untenable. The sixth dynasty, as was shown in the preceding chapter,² bore sway over the entire Nile valley, and cannot have allowed the existence of an independent monarchy in the Thebaid, which would have cut it off from the South. There are, moreover, signs of development and advance in certain respects, under the kings of Dynasty XI, which render it almost certain that an interval of some not inconsiderable duration must have

¹ Wilkinson in the author's *History of the Egyptians*, vol. i. p. 347, and vol. ii. pp. 336 and 346, 1858.
² See above, page 103.

separated off the second Egyptian civilisation from the first.¹

It would seem that, at the death of Niocris, the centrifugal force, which had long held the various provinces of Egypt asunder, proved stronger than the centripetal, and a disintegration of the empire took place. Memphis re-established its independence, and dynasties ruled there, to which Manetho assigned in his list the seventh and eighth places. Another kingdom sprang up in the Delta, having its capital at Heracleopolis Parva, in the Saitic nome.² Here again were two successive dynasties, Manetho's ninth and tenth. In central Egypt a new power developed itself at Thebes, which rapidly acquired a superiority over the rival kingdoms, and ended by absorbing them. The eleventh dynasty has left considerable traces of itself, but of the other four there are no contemporary records, and, beyond some names of kings in the Turin papyrus, and in the lists of Karnak, Saqqarah, and Abydos, which may be guessed to belong to them, we are entirely without details with respect to this period of Egyptian history.³

The causes of the sudden decline which accompanied the close of the sixth dynasty, and of the suspension of annals during a term variously estimated

¹ M. Mariette says 'On voit l'Egypte se diviser en deux long-temps, les annales traditionnelles ou historiques. Les uns se rapportent aux dynasties des pharaons, les autres aux dynasties des fonctionnaires, les uns s'étendent jusqu'à la religion, tout en étant semblables à ceux.' (See Lepsius, *Monument d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i. p. 140.)

² Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, vol. ii.

p. 245.

³ Eighteen names of kings are given by Dr. Briggs's *History of Egypt* vol. i. p. 110 (1st ed.) as belonging to these dynasties. They are taken from the New Table of Abydos, set up by Seti I. The general character of the names accords with those of the fourth, fifth, and sixth dynasties. The most frequent is that of Nefer-kara.

at from 166 to 740 years,¹ are obscure, and can only be conjectured. M. Lenormant suggests² an invasion and conquest of Egypt by some foreign people, which held the real dominion of the country during the interval, whatever it was, but allowed native subject monarchs to maintain a precarious and inglorious sway at Memphis and in the Eastern Delta; but Dr Birch observes³ with reason, that it is 'difficult to believe' in a conquest, of which there is no historical record, no trace upon the monuments. The assertion that the skulls of mummies belonging to the eleventh and later dynasties are sensibly different from those of the period terminating with Dynasty VI., and indicate a decided modification of *physique*, such as would naturally follow on the introduction into the population of a new element, with which M. Lenormant supports his theory,⁴ lacks corroboration by other writers, and is certainly not the statement of a fact generally admitted by Egyptologists. M. Lenormant himself allows the dubiousness of his theory, and winds up his remarks upon the subject with an alternative view: 'It would be rash,' he says,⁵ 'to assert that the sudden eclipse which shows itself in the civilisation of Egypt immediately after the sixth dynasty had not solely for its

¹ According to Africanus, Manetho assigned to the seventh dynasty 70 days, to the eighth 140 years, to the ninth 440 years, to the tenth 166 years—total, 740 years and 70 days. According to Eusebius, he assigns 75 days for the seventh dynasty, 75 days for the eighth and ninth, 100 years each for the tenth, 166 years—total, 385 years 75 days. By an arbitrary extension and combination of these two accounts M. Lenormant produces for the period

a total of 430 years (*Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i. p. 721) which Dr Birch adopts (*Ancient Egypt* p. 57). Besides following Eusebius, who besides Manetho assigns no definite number, ~~reckons~~ as the actual length of the interval at 100 years (*Egypt's Place*, vol. ii. pp. 257-261).

² *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i. p. 346.

³ *Ancient Egypt*, l.c.

⁴ *Manuel*, vol. i. p. 347.

⁵ *Ibid.*

cause one of those almost inexplicable crises of weakness, wherewith the life of nations, like that of individuals, is sometimes crossed.* It would seem to be best to acquiesce, for the present at any rate, in this view: and to suppose that the great burst of vigour and energy, which commencing with Seneferu terminated, perhaps seven centuries later,† with Nitocris, was followed by a period of exhaustion and enfeeblement, during which no works of any magnitude were constructed, no wars of any importance carried on, no inscriptions of any sort or kind set up. Such a pause in the life of an ingenious and active people like the Egyptians cannot be supposed to have been long, and we should incline, therefore, to the lowest estimate which has been hitherto made of the probable duration of the interval.

When Egypt, after this period of torpor, once more aroused herself and began to show new signs of life, the *renaissance* civilisation developed itself from a new centre. In the long and rich valley of the lower Nile, which extends above five hundred miles from Syene to Memphis, almost any situation might furnish a site for a great city, since, except at Saba and at the Gebelan, the valley is never less than two miles wide, the soil is always fertile, good quarries are always at hand, and lavish Nature is so bounteous with her gifts that abundant sustenance can at any point be obtained for a large population. But, in this wealth of eligible sites, there are still degrees of eligibility—spots which

* Manetho's numbers as reported by Africanus, are—

	Years
From the fourth dynasty	24
to the	24th
with	703
Total . . .	727

But the items of the reigns in the 6th dynasty produce the number 21 instead of 24. The substitution of this number would bring the sum total within the period of seven centuries.

Nature has distinguished by special favour, and as it were marked out for greatness and celebrity. Such a position is that which the traveller reaches, when, passing through the gorge of the Gebelun, he emerges upon the magnificent plain, at least ten miles in width, through which the river flows with a course from south-west to north-east for a distance of some forty miles between Erment and Qibt. Here, for the first time since quitting the Nubian desert, does the Nile enter upon a wide and ample space.¹ On either side the hills recede, and a broad green plain, an alluvium of the richest description, spreads itself out on both banks of the stream, dotted with *domatal* date palms, sometimes growing single, sometimes collected into clumps or groves. Here, too, there open out on either side, to the east and to the west, lines of route offering great advantages for trade, on the one hand with the Lesser Oases and so with the tribes of the African interior, on the other with the western coast of the Red Sea, and the spice region of the opposite shore.² In the valley of Hammanât, down which passed the ancient route to the coast, are abundant supplies of *breccia verde* and of other valuable and rare kinds of stone,³ while at no great distance to the right and left of the route lie mines of gold, silver, and lead,⁴ an easily prolific, though exhausted now for many ages. Somewhat more remote, yet readily accessible by a frequented route, was the emerald region of Gebel Zabara, where the mines are still worked,⁵ though not at present very productive.

¹ See above, vol. i. p. 18.

² Drogosz's *History of Egypt*, vol. i. pp. 112-15, 1st ed.


³ Wilkinson's *Topography of Thebes*, pp. 415-421.

⁴ Ibid. pp. 415-10, Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 11., 1st ed.

⁵ Wilkinson, p. 420.

In this favoured position, partly on the left but principally on the right bank of the stream, had grown up, probably from a remote antiquity, a flourishing provincial town, to which its inhabitants gave the name of Ape¹, Ape², or, with the feminine article, Tape, which form the Greeks represented by Theai,³ whence our Thebes. The city had for ages been only one out of the many populous towns which the early Pharaohs had held under their sway; it had been, no doubt, as it always continued to be, the head of a nome;⁴ it had its own local peculiarities of religion, manners, speech, nomenclature, even perhaps its own modification of the generally received hieroglyphical system of writing.⁵ But hitherto it had drawn no special attention, it had attained no notoriety. One among some scores of considerable Egyptian towns,⁶ it had been content with a subject position, had refrained from asserting itself, and had consequently remained undistinguished.

When, however, at the close of the sixth dynasty, Egypt became disintegrated, and monarchies of no great strength were established at the Delta and at Memphis, it occurred to the authorities of Ape that the city over which they presided had as much right to exercise sovereignty as Hieracropolis Parva, and that a bold assertion of independence would probably be successful, might even be undisputed. The Memphitic

Hieroglyphs the hieroglyphic form is . *Dictionary of Hieroglyphics*, in *Ruinen & Egypt* v. 1 p. 584. The phonetic part of this group would be properly rendered by Ape or Ape².

¹ See Waddell's *Notes on the Hieroglyphs*, v. 1 p. 11, 12.





² Hierogl. n. 160. *Plan H A*

v. 2; *Phil. Geograph.* iv. 54 &c.

³ See the passage from *Strabo*, quoted p. 26, *infra*.




In the time of Augustus, it was said that the number of buildings in the city was 20,000 (11 *tab.* 177). This is not an exaggerated exaggeration, but from fifty to sixty well known temples ought to be enumerated.

kings of the seventh and eighth dynasties were too weak, the Heracleopolitans of the ninth and tenth too remote, to attempt interference; and Thebes became a free city, the capital of an independent monarchy, apparently without a struggle.




Who the individual was by whom this feat was accomplished, and the foundations laid of that second and more brilliant Egyptian civilisation which eclipsed the glories of the first, it is impossible even to conjecture. According to the Turin papyrus the eleventh or 'first Theban' dynasty comprised six, according to Manetho¹ it consisted of sixteen, Pharaohs. The monumental traces of the dynasty, discovered hitherto, appear to show a series of either six or eight monarchs² who bear alternately the names of Enantef or Antef,  or , and Ment-hept or Mentu-hotep,  or . But it is quite possible that the series is incomplete, and far from certain that the alternation of name was scrupulously maintained from the beginning to the end of the dynasty. A king named Sankh-kh-ra seems to have belonged to it,³ who is not proved to have borne, besides, either of the usual appellations.

The first king of the dynasty who is known to us was an Antef, whose coffin was discovered by some Arabs in the year 1827 near Qurnah to the west of Thebes⁴. He called himself 'king of the two Egypts'.


¹ All the epitomes agree in this statement.

² Lepsius (*Monument d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. I. p. 348) reckons six,   . Birch (*Ancient Egypt*, p. 68) makes the number eight. Dr Brugsch regards it as indeterminate, but as only six and not only five, *History of Egypt*

vol. ii. pp. 116-18, 1st ed.).

He uses, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 116-117, 1st ed.    is not acknowledged by either Dr Birch or M. Lepsius, but M. Lepsius would not have calculated upon the existence of such a king in the eleventh dynasty.

⁴ Lepsius, *Letters & Excursions*,

and his mummy, which was found inside the coffin, bore the royal diadem on its head¹. It was enveloped in the pasteboard covering which has been called a 'cartonnage,' and the coffin was of a primitive character, being scooped out of the trunk of a tree². He is supposed to have been succeeded by a Mentu-hotep, whose name occurs in the 'Table of Karnak,' but of whom we have no contemporary monument. This first Mentu-hotep was followed by Antefsa, or 'Antef the Great,' who reigned at least fifty years,³ and was buried in a simple pyramid of brickwork at the foot of the western or Libyan mountains, in the valley known as El-Assasif, near the ruins of Thebes. The tomb of Antefsa,  —, ornamented by a sculptured tablet, of which the upper portion is lost, was recently discovered by M. Mariette. The tablet⁴ shows him standing among his dogs, and waited on by his chief huntsman, from which we may conclude that, like more than one of the ancient Assyrian monarchs,⁵ he delighted in the chase, and regarded with affection and pride the faithful animals who were the companions of his amusement. Each has his name engraved above him, accompanied by a brief explanation, which shows that the dogs were valued for their hunting qualities, and used in the pursuit of the antelope and other

pp. 28 et seqq. Bunsen, *Egypte Anc.*, vol. ii. p. 302.

¹ The diadem was of gold and its royal character was marked by the uræus. It is now in the Leyden Museum.

² Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 68. The coffin is in the British Museum.



³ See the inscription upon his tomb, which is given by M. Mari-

ette in his *Monuments Divers* pl. 40.

⁴ See the *Monuments Divers*, pl. 40. A copy of the plate appeared in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. v. pp. p. 1, 2. accompanied by a very instructive commentary, the work of Dr. Birch.

⁵ *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii. pp. 74, 80, and 211, 2nd ed.

quadrupeds. They are four in number, and each is of a different kind.

A second Mentu-hotep, the fourth king of the dynasty (according to Dr. Birch),¹ who bore also the names of Neb-kher-ra, , and Ra-neb-tau, , is thought to have succeeded Antef III. By an inscription which he set up on the rocks of Komess, quite close to Philæ, it is shown that his dominion was not confined to the Thebaid, but extended over the whole of Upper Egypt, and at the same time it appears, by the relief chiseled upon the stone, that he claimed to be the conqueror of thirteen foreign wars,² probably negro tribes of the country bordering Egypt to the south. He is exhibited in the act of worshipping Khem, the special god of Kôtu, or Coptos, which appears by another tablet to have been at that time his usual residence.³ This place commanded the entrance to the valley of Hammarut, the importance of which as a line of traffic was now for the first time fully recognised. Mentu-hotep II. sunk wells in the valley, to provide water for the caravans which passed to and fro between Coptos and the Red sea,⁴ and carved a tablet on the rocks above to commemorate his operations. He also procured from a quarry in this quarter a huge sarcophagus, destined to serve as his tomb, its length was eight cubits, or twelve feet; its breadth four cubits, and its height two. The services of 3000 men were required to transport the enormous monolith from the spot where it was quarried to the nearest wharf upon the great stream.⁵ Mentu-hotep Neb-kher-ra was also a patron of glyptic art. A statu-

¹ *Ancient Egypt*, p. 58.

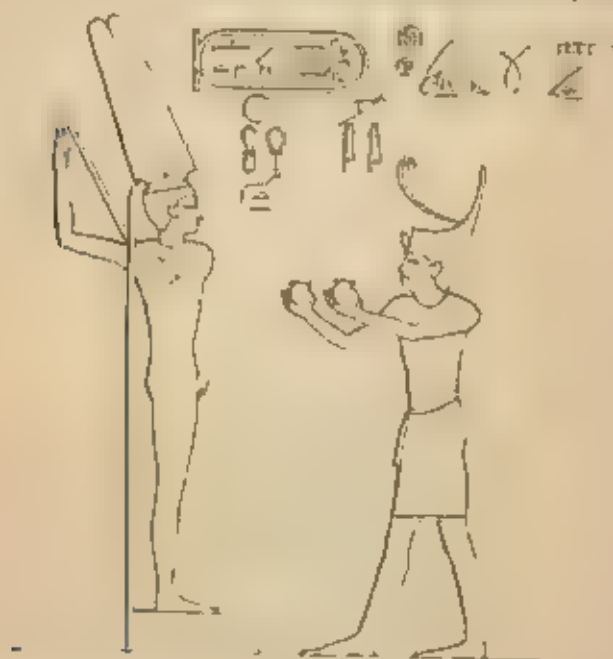
² Birch, *Ancient Egypt* p. 60.

³ Brugsch *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 111, 1st ed. Birch, *l.c.*

⁴ Brugsch *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 113, 1st ed.

⁵ *Ibid.*

ary, named Intusen, who lived under him, has left it on record in the inscription upon his tomb, that he "occupied the inmost recess of the king's heart, and made his delight all the day long."¹ This artist worked not merely in stone and marble, but in gold, and silver, and ivory, and ebony,² and was thus able to provide



Tablet of Mentu-hotep II.

his royal master not only with statues, but with a vast variety of *objets d'art*.

Mentu-hotep II is thought to have been followed by an Antef who has left no record of his reign, but who appears in the 'Table of Karnak' at this point.³

¹ See the *Records of the Past*, vol. x. p. 3.

² *Ibid.* p. 4.

³ See Lepsius, *Konigsbuch*, Taf. x. No. 166.

Somaui.¹ 'Punt,' he observes,² 'was a distant land, washed by the ocean, full of valleys and hills, abounding in ebony and other rich woods, in incense, lacum, precious metals, and costly stones; rich also in beasts, as camelopards, hunting leopards, panthers, dog-headed apes, and long tailed monkeys. Birds with strange plumage rocked themselves on the branches of wonderful trees, especially the incense tree and the cocoa palm.' Other authorities speak of it as producing benzoin, cassia, *kohl* or *stibium*, emeralds, ivory, and dogs of a good breed.³ Sakhkara entrusted the expedition, which he sent to bring from Punt its precious wares, to a certain Hannu (Hannu?), who gives the following account of his proceedings, 'I was sent,' he says,⁴ 'to conduct ships to Punt, in order to bring back to his majesty the odorous gums which the princes of the red land had collected under the influence of the fear inspired by him in all countries. Behold, I left Coptos . . . His majesty ordered that the troops which were to accompany me should be drawn from the southern parts of the Thebaid.

I set forth with an army of 3,000 men. I passed through the red hamlet and a cultivated territory. I prepared the skins and the poles needed for the transport of the water jars to the number of twenty. I halt my men each day carried loads; the other half placed the loads upon them. I dug a reservoir of twelve perches in a wood, and two reservoirs at a place called Ataset, one measuring a perch and twenty cubits, and the other a perch and thirty cubits. I made another

¹ *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 114, 1st ed.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Records of the Past*, vol. x. p. 14, Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, &c.

⁴ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. pp. 116-19, 1st ed. A transcript of the original will be found at the *Denkmaek*, pl. ii. pl. 166 a.

at Ateb, measuring ten cubits each way, to contain water a cubit in depth. Then I arrived at Seba and constructed transports for the conveyance of all kinds of productions. I made a great offering there of oxen, cows, and goats. When I returned from Seba, I executed the orders of His Majesty; I brought him back every sort of product that I met with in the havens of the lady land. I came back by way of Uak and Italan, and brought with me from those places precious stones for statues in temples. Never was such a thing done since there were kings. Never was anything of the kind accomplished by any member of the royal family since the reign of the Sun-God, Ra. I acted thus for the king on account of the great affection which he entertained for me.' The route pursued by Hannu as far as Seba appears to have been that which leads from Qobt or Qoft, by way of La Guitta, to Cosseir¹. From Seba, where he had his transports, he must have proceeded southward along the African coast until he reached the fertile region with which it was his master's object to establish communications. He there probably found an *entrepôt* at which he was able to procure not only the products of the Semitic country itself, but also those which nations of the far East brought from Arabia, Persia, and perhaps even India, to be exchanged for the commodities of the regions watered by the Nile. Yemen and Hadramaut, Ophir, Bahrain,² Babylon, perhaps even Taprobané and Malacca here found a mart for their valuable wares, and purchased with them the manufactures of Egypt, the hard woods

¹ Wilkinson, *Topography of Bahrain*, see Sir H. Rawlinson's *Tales*, p. 421. Belzoni, *Researches*, 'Notes on Captain Durrand's Report, to the *Journal of the Royal*

² On the early commerce of *Asiatic Society* for 1873, pp. 13-20.

of the African forests, and the swart and stalwart slaves of Nubia and Dongola. The line of traffic thus established continued in use during the whole of the Egyptian period, and even into Greek and Roman times. 'It was the highway which, leading to the harbour of Leucosimien (now Cosser), on the Red Sea, brought the wondrous of India and Arabia to Europe; it was the road of the merchants of all countries in the ancient world—the nations' bridge between Asia and Europe.'

A special interest is added to Senak-kut's establishment of communications with the land of Punt by the circumstance that, according to Egyptian tradition, Punt was the country from which they had derived some, at any rate, of their principal gods. Athor especially, 'the mother,' the 'mistress of heaven,' was 'Queen of the Holy Land, 'Mistress and Ruler of Punt.'¹ Ammon was sometimes called the 'Hak' or 'King' of Punt, and Horus was honoured as 'the boy morning star which rose to the west of the land of Punt.'² According to Brugsch, the Hithons dwarf, *Hes-hu-shen*, and with apish countenance, was also originally a denizen of Punt, the 'oldest form of the godhead' there, imported into Egypt at an early date from this distant region, and thence forward a favourite object of domestic worship, recognised as 'the god of joy, of music, and of pleasure, the divinity who chases away evil, and therefore as suited to preside over the toilet tables of great dames, and the arts by which beauty is preserved and enhanced.'

¹ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 117, 1st ed.
² See *Riviera of the East*, vol. i. pp. 18, 19.

³ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 116, 1st ed.

⁴ Ibid. and compare for a fuller account the French version published by Brugsch himself in the year 1870, p. 62, which has been called 'le dieu de la joie, de la musique et des plaisirs, celui qui chasse le

The 'second Egyptian civilisation,' as it has been called,¹ differed in many respects from the first. The first was egoist, self-seeking, stately, cold, cruel. The second was utilitarian, beneficent, appealing less to the eye than to the mind, but judicious, far-sighted in its aims, and most successful in the results which it effected. The encouragement of trade and commerce, the establishment and improvement of commercial routes, the digging of wells, the formation of reservoirs, the protection of the roads by troops, the building of ships, the exploration of hitherto unknown seas—such were the special objects which the monarchs of the eleventh dynasty set before them, such the lines of activity into which they drew their own energies and the practical ability of their people. No longer aiming, like the old Memphitic kings, at leaving undying monuments of themselves in the shape of monuments that reached to heaven, but content with rude coffins and humble sepulchres, often not even of stone,² they were enabled to employ the labour of their subjects in productive pursuits, and to increase largely the general prosperity of the country by adding to the agricultural wealth of Egypt the luxuries and conveniences which an extensive commerce is sure to introduce. The full development of the new ideal was reserved for the dynasty which succeeded them, and is especially to be traced in the great works of utility connected with the Lake Mariut and the control of the Nile waters by means of saucres and reservoirs; but the eleventh dynasty set the example of seeking the welfare of their subjects rather than their own glorification; and when Amenemhat I., the founder of the twelfth, boasts that

¹ Leconte de Lisle, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, x. d. i. p. 348.

² Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 121, 1st ed.

all the commands which he had ever issued had but increased the love which his people had for him, as does but show that he had carried out the principles of a governmental administration introduced by the Antefis and Mentuhoteps.

It was natural that art, when such principles were in vogue, should be turned into new channels. No longer did king vie with king in the piling up of a monumental mountain; no longer was it the first aim of a monarch to 'leave a memorial of himself'.¹ Architecture consequently declined. The eleventh dynasty is scarcely commemorated by a single Egyptian building, and even the twelfth only left one of any great size.² Artistic energy was directed to statuary, to works in relief, to amulets, furniture, and ornaments of various kinds.³ In these branches considerable progress was made. The statues of the time have no small merit,⁴ the reliefs are drawn with delicacy, though wanting in variety and force. Animal forms, however, are depicted with some spirit. The four dogs of Antefia offer a marked contrast the one with the other, and express with precision distinct canine types.⁵ Two antefixes on another tomb of the same period are vigorous,⁶ while the tracings of the hieroglyphs on the stela of Irithsen, which comprise numerous figures of birds and beasts, are said to be of quite first rate

¹ *Records of the Past*, vol. II. p. 14, § II.

² Herodotus says that he could find the names of certain kings, whom they left no memorial or monument, and are therefore not worth mentioning (i. 106-7).

³ The famous 'Tavernier's' of which some account will be given in the next chapter.

⁴ See the 'Stela of Irithsen' (*Records of the Past*, vol. II. p. 14) and compare Brugsch *History of Egypt* vol. I. pp. 121-2 123 ed.

⁵ Birch, *Guide to Galleries*, pp. 17-19.

⁶ See Mariette, *Monuments Diverses*, pl. 40 and compare below, p. 149.

Mariette, *Monuments Diverses*, pl. 50.

excellency.¹ Altogether, one is more struck perhaps by the persistency of Egyptian art in the same forms than by anything else in the remains of the eleventh dynasty, since, even after an interval of some length, and in an entirely new and previously unknown locality, the artists give us almost identically the same designs, the same positions of the human figure, the same arrangement of their subjects, the same faces, the same furniture. Evidently, originality was either unthought of, or repressed; the canons of ancient times were considered binding, and novelty was only allowed within very narrow limits.

A greater variation from the usages of primitive times, a more distinct trace of local colouring, is to be seen in the religion of the period. From a deep and thick obscurity, the god Ammon at last begins to emerge, but yet with any distinctness, much less with that transcendent glory which made him, in the best times of Thebes, almost decidedly the leading god of the entire Egyptian Pantheon, but just making himself apparent as a god to whom parents think it worth while to dedicate a child.² Perhaps he was now for the first time introduced from Pant, which was always regarded as the locality whereto he specially belonged, and from which he made excursions from time to time,³ like those of the Greek Zeus from Olympus. Another peculiarity of the period is the prominence given to Mentu.⁴

¹ See the profiles of *Professors* *Maspero*, in the *Records of the Past*, vol. x. pp. 1, 2.

² There is an *Ammon-sut* who was employed under *Mentuhotep* II. to carry the *amun* from the valley of Hamamun to the capital (see p. 125). There is also an *Amun-sut*, the wife of a sculptor of

the time of one of the *supremacy* tablets of the *Great Monarchy*, *foundations*, *etc.* The *Ammon-sut* who became king was preserved his name under the *supremacy* by name.

³ See *Hugues*, *History of Egypt*, p. 125.

⁴ Mentu, Khem, and Neith are

and Khem, who have hitherto been very subordinate and insignificant deities. Mentu, the god of Hermopolis, a sort of suburb of Thebes, may be called the tutelary divinity of the whole dynasty, half the kings placing their sons under his protection, and the other half bearing his name. Khem, hitherto kept for the most part in obscurity, though the special god of Coptos, takes each only a leading position, rears his sig upon the rocks in various attitudes,¹ and shows himself in the gross and coarse form which no author of the present day could reproduce without incurring general reprobation. Other deities worshipped at the time, but with ordinary and not peculiar honours, were Osiris, Anubis, Kheph, Horus, Ptahm-Sokari, Thoth, and Neith. The Sedjue festival is now also for the first time noted as in use, and feasts are also held, it states, periodically, to Khem, Intah-Sokari, and Thoth.²

The monuments distinctly referable to the eleventh dynasty are not sufficiently numerous to furnish us with much information as to the progress of civilization and the arts of life. There is some indication that shoes now began to take the place of sandals³ that glass and pottery increased in elegance,⁴ and that the figures of deities were ornamented with patterns.⁵ Special atten-

represented together on a tablet set up by Mentu at op. II. at the end of Khem. *Denkmäler*, pt. II. pl. 150. The separate images of the Herakleum show a Mentu as a Mentu-an, and a Mentu-an-an among the images of the parent. *Furchi, Guide to Gizeh*, pt. 13, 20, 28.

Denkmäler, pt. II. pls. 149 c, 150 b, c, and d.

² *Records of the Past*, vol. vi. p. 3. *Herakleum, Guide to Gizeh*, p. 20 No. 402.

¹ See the *Denkmäler*, pt. II. pls. 145 c, 147 b, and 148. Dr Breasted holds that some were taken from an ancient Egyptian *Imenit Tawet*. *Introduction*, p. 151. The only have been found at Thebes (Wilkinson, *A. E. Egypt*, p. 107, vol. I 1870), and certainly the representation in the *Denkmäler*, pt. II. pl. 149 c, is of an animal not mortal.

³ *Denkmäler*, pt. II. pls. 145 d, and 147 a.

⁴ *Ibid.* pls. 147 a, and 148 c, d.

tion seems to have been paid to the breeding of dogs, which occur of at least four different kinds, corresponding to our greyhound, mastiff, wolf-dog, and ordinary hound¹. The first named was used in the chase of the gazelle or antelope, the second is a house-dog, and sits at the foot of his master: he is of a black colour, and is called *Mahute*, which is explained as meaning 'black'. The other two are employed to hunt game of various kinds. A special domestic is appointed to attend to the kennel, who seems to be regarded as an upper-servant, since he wears an elegant collar.


¹ Compare D. Brown's article in *Bibl. Archaeology*, vol. i. pp. 172
the *Transactions of the Society of* [et seq.]

CHAPTER XVII.

THE TWELFTH DYNASTY.

Period of Disturbance. Accession of Amen-em-hat I.—His Military Expeditions—His great Works—His Addition to Fictitious Sports. He appoints his Son Sankh-ka-ra, and leaves him written Instructions. Reign of Sankh-ka-ra I.—His Obsequies—His Temples—His Chariot War. His Chief Officers, Amen and Ment-hotep.—His Association of Amen-em-hat II. Reign of Amen-em-hat II. Reigns of Seneb-ka-ia II and Sankh-ka-ra III.—Request of Pharaoh and Sankh-ka-ra of Gifts of Semmel and Khamouch. Continuation III the Original of the negro Nomes. Estimate of his Character. Reign of Amen-em-hat III. His Famous Name. His great Irrigation Scheme. His Ancestress. His Palace and Pyramid.—His other Works. Reigns of Amen-em-hat IV and Sankh-ka-ra IV.—Continuation of the Period. Arts of Life. Architecture and Civilised Art.—Chungu in the Religion.

*L'époque de la douzième dynastie fut une époque de prospérité, de paix intérieure et de grandeur au dehors. Les monarques, *Mémoires de l'Institut d'Égypte*, vol. I, p. 349.

It has been observed in the last chapter, that the eleventh, or first Theban dynasty expired in bloodshed and confusion. A time of general disturbance followed, upon the death of Sankh-ka-ra, and it was probably not till some years had elapsed that Thebes was once more able to establish her supremacy over Egypt and to give the afflicted land the blessing of a settled rule. We do not know the circumstances of the outbreak, or the causes which led to revolution; but there is some reason to suspect a general disaffection of the lower orders, terminating in open rebellion and civil war. Amen-em-hat, , the individual who suc-

ceeded ultimately in re-establishing tranquillity, warns his son against seeking to win the affections of the landed lords and nobles on any, and bids him associate himself with the mass of his subjects and essay to obtain their goodwill.¹ It is at least probable that he has seen the evils of a contrary course, and had been induced to make himself the patron and protector of the weak and humble² by experience gained in the school of adversity, before he attained to sovereign power.

There is no indication of any relationship between the kings of the twelfth and those of the eleventh dynasty, and it is a conjecture³ not altogether improbable, that the Amenemhat who was the founder of the twelfth was descended from the successor of the same name, who under Mentuthotep II. exercised commissions of importance.⁴ At any rate, he lacks no pretension to a royal origin, and the probability would seem to be that he attained the throne not through any claim of right, but by his own personal merits. Amid a multitude of pretenders, he sang it his way to the crown, and was accepted as king, because he had triumphed over his rivals. On one occasion, he tells us, his life was in extreme danger. He had taken his evening meal, and had retired to rest—stretched upon a carpet in the inner chamber of his house, he was courting sleep—when, lo! a class of arms resounded, foot-approached, hoping to assassinate

¹ *Records of the Past* vol. ii. p. 11, 52.


² "As for myself," says Amenemhat, "I have given to the humble and made the weak exult," and again, "I have made the afflicted

come to be no longer afflicted and their cries to be heard no more," *ibid.* pp. 11, 12 f. and 16.

³ See Brugsch's *History of Egypt* vol. i. p. 129, 1st ed.

⁴ *Supra*, p. 158, note 2.

keep watch on its borders,'¹ to rule all Egypt 'from Abu (Elephantine) to the Athu' (the marshy region of the Delta) was enough for him;² we do not find him establishing any military posts in the countries which he invaded; on the contrary, we find that, in one quarter at any rate, he followed up his victories by building a wall, or defensive work, upon his own frontiers, for the purpose of 'keeping off the Suki.'³ or, in other words, of checking and repelling their incursions. This post was probably a little to the east of Pelusium, near the western extremity of the Lake Serbonis.⁴

Among extant monuments none of any great importance can be assigned to Amenem-hat, though his activity was shown in building no less than in warlike expeditions. There are no doubts that he commenced the temple of Ammon at Karnak opposite Thebes, where fragments of a granite statue have been found on which the sculptor had engraved his name.⁵ Another statue, also representing him, was erected in the Fayum.⁶ He worked the quarries of Mokattam and Hamamass,⁷ returned Memphis,⁸ and constructed two considerable edifices, which have perished — a palace, supposed to have been situated at Heliopolis,⁹ and a pyramid, known as Ka-nefer,  'Lusty and Happy.'¹⁰ Of the former, he tells us that it was 'adorned with gold, its roof was painted blue, the walls and

¹ *Records of the Past*, vol. ii. p. 14. § 10.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.* vol. vi. p. 136, l. 23-4.

⁴ Brugsch, *History of Egypt* vol. i. p. 127 1st ed. and compare the map which accompanies his second volume.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 324 and compare the French edition, p. 30, which is farther.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Arch. Ancient Egypt* p. 61.

⁸ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 114 1st ed.

⁹ *Arch. L. c.*

¹⁰ Brugsch, *L. c.*

the passages were of stones fastened together with iron cramps; 'it was 'made for eternity,' he says, and not for time; but unluckily it has not fulfilled the intention of its constructor. The other, notwithstanding its proud title, was probably of moderate dimensions, like the pyramids of the Menthoteps and Antefs; it was erected to contain a stone sarcophagus cut in the Hammamat quarries by Antef, son of Sank nekhit, chief priest of the god Khem, who has commemorated the fact on the rocky wall of the Wady.¹

A third field in which the activity of this energetic king found employment was that of the chase. He 'hunted the lion,' he tells us, 'and brought back the crocodile a prisoner.'² Lions, which are now not found north of Suha, frequented in those early times the deserts on either side of the valley of the Nile,³ and furnished a sport in which even a great king could not feel it beneath him to indulge. Crocodiles were more common, and had long been objects of pursuit to the Egyptian sportsman, who generally speared them from a boat,⁴ but sometimes fished for them with a baited hook,⁵ and in this way might catch them alive. Probably Amenemhat adopted this latter method of procedure, and on returning to his palace exhibited the victims of his skill and prowess to the nobles and officials of his court.

As he approached old age, and felt its infirmities creeping upon him, Amenemhat resolved to associate his son Usurtasen in the government. This prince had, as already remarked, exhibited from his earliest

¹ *Records of the Past*, vol. ii. pp. 14, § 12.

14, 15, § 13.

² See above, vol. i. p. 407.

³ Breusch *History of Egypt*, vol.

⁴ Plin. 545.

i. p. 24, 1st ed.

⁵ Herod. ii. 70.

⁵ *Records of the Past*, vol. ii. p.

youth, high military capacity; and it would seem that there was a party at the Court which pressed on Amenemhat his own abdication in favour of a successor of such merit.¹ But the aged monarch was unwilling to erase himself altogether, and saw no necessity for so extreme an act of self-abasement. Association had probably been practised from ancient times by the Egyptian kings; and it seemed to Amenemhat that by having recourse to this plan of action he might reconcile the demands of the discontented with his own personal inclinations. Accordingly, without descending from the throne, he allowed Usurtasen to assume the royal dignity,² and henceforth, for the space of ten years,³ the father and son reigned conjointly.

Finally, before descending into the tomb Amenemhat resolved to leave to his son a legacy of political wisdom in the shape of 'Instructions,'⁴ by the observance of which he might reign prosperously, and guide his life to a happy termination. Representing himself as speaking from the Lower World, he enjoined upon Usurtasen the practice of justice and virtue, the admission of all classes of his subjects to his presence and his affections, the avoidance of pride and exclusiveness, together with care in the selection of his intimate friends and counsellors. Briefly recapitulating the chief events of his own life, and the principles which had actuated him, he recommended to his successor persistence in

¹ *Records of the Past*, vol. ii. p. 115, § 4.




² This fact is glanced at, without being distinctly stated, in the 'Instructions,' § 1, 2. It is soon very clearly in the 'Story of Sennefer' where the royal dignity of both father and son, and the joint participation in governmental acts are

apparent (*Records of the Past*, vol. vi. pp. 137-42).

³ See Brugsch's *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 117 (2d ed.). Dr. Brugsch makes the joint reign one of seven years in *Ancient Egypt* (p. 117).


⁴ The 'Instructions' have been translated and published in the *Records of the Past*, vol. i. pp. 11-10.

the same course—the protection of the weak and humble, the relief of the afflicted, the punishment of the rebellious, the exercise of continual watchfulness and care against possible calamities, the defence of the frontier, the encouragement of agriculture, and the chastisement of foreign enemies, urging him to act even better than any of his predecessors, and reminding him that he too would have ere long to ‘enter the boat of Re,’ and make the dread passage across the ‘Great Pool’ into the presence of Osiris.¹ Perhaps we may attribute in some measure to this document the satisfactory and in certain respects brilliant reign which followed, and of which we have now to give an account.

Usarsesen,  , who assumed the predominance of Khepr-khuita, , upon his accession,² after reigning ten years conjointly with his father in perfect unity and agreement, entered upon his sole reign when Amenemhat died, and continued to exercise the royal authority from that date for thirty-five years. He is remarkable at once for his constructions and for his conquests. Thebes, Abydos, Heliopolis or On, the Fayoum, and the Delta, were equally the scenes of his constructive activity; and traces have been found at all these various sites, indicative of his religious zeal and architectural eminence. Of these various works the best known, though by no means the most interesting, is the obelisk of pink granite which still stands upon the site of Heliopolis, lifting itself above the verdure of the cornfields into the soft sleepy air, and pointing

¹ The text of § 12 of the Instructions is both mutilated and corrupt, so that its meaning is obscure; but to me it appears to have had the intention expressed above.

² The name, Khepr-khuita, is assigned to him by the author of the *Story of Seneferu*, which Amenemhat is still living. *Revue of the East* vol. vi. p. 112.

ing with silent finger to heaven. Obelisks were not previously quite unknown. We meet with the hieroglyphic form  as early as the times of the fifth dynasty,¹ and a small obelisk, erected by one of the Antefs of the eleventh, has been discovered by M. Mariette at Drah-abou I-neggah.² But the erection of Usurtasen I is the earliest monument of the kind, possessing any considerable grandeur,³ which is known to us: and it has the rare advantage of still remaining in the spot where it was originally set up, and where it has witnessed the events of at least thirty-seven centuries. It rises to a height of sixty-six feet,⁴ above the surrounding plain, is formed of the hardest and most beautiful rose coloured granite, and contains a deeply-cut hieroglyphical legend, exactly repeated on each of its four faces. The inscription runs as follows: 'The Horus-Sun, the life of those who are born, the king of the Upper and the Lower Lands, Khepr-ka-ra, the lord of the double crown, the life of those who are born, the son of the Sun God Ra, Usurtasen; the friend of the spirits in On, the ever-living golden Horus, the life of those who are born, the good god, Khepr-ka-ra, has executed this work in the beginning of the thirty years' cycle, he the dispenser of life for evermore.'⁵ Originally, it was beyond all doubt one of a pair⁶ placed in front of the great entrance to the Temple of the Sun, the 'Jachin and Boaz'⁷ of the Egyptian sanctuary.

¹ De Rouge, *Recherches*, p. 75.

² Mariette, *Monuments Divers*, pl. 50 a.

³ The height of the obelisk of Antef is no more than 3½ mètres, or less than eleven feet.

⁴ *Description de l'Égypte*, 'Antiquités', t. ii. p. 225.

⁵ For a good representation of

this obelisk and its inscriptions, see the *Dezobry* pl. a pl. 115. The translation given in the text is taken in the main from Dr Brugsch (*History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 111, [1st ed.]).

⁶ See above, vol. i. p. 205.

⁷ *Jachin* vi. 21.





A far more interesting memorial of Usurtasen than his Heliopolitan obelisk, with its tautological epigraph, is the work of the same kind, which now lies, broken and prostrate, on the soil of the Fayoum. Considerably inferior in size, since its complete height did not much exceed forty feet,¹ this monument excels the other alike in the variety and in the artistic value of the sculptures which are engraved upon it. Usurtasen is represented, on the upper portion of the obelisk and base which is visible, in the act of worshipping twenty of the principal deities. Among these the most honourable positions are assigned to Ammon and Ptah, while Mentu, Ra-Harmachis, Isis, Nephthys, Sakh, Thoth, Kneph, Shu, Khons, Anhor, and Sefekh are among the other objects of the monarch's adoration. The narrow sides have inscriptions, which resemble each other to a certain extent, but are far from being duplicates. In these the gods Mentu and Ptah are alone commemorated.

At Thebes, Usurtasen continued the construction of the great temple of Ammon which his father had begun, and is thought to have completed the remarkable cell,² which forms the inner sanctuary, or 'Heky of Hekes,' in the temple as it existed at a later date. The original building of Usurtasen, which was probably of sandstone, appears to have been removed by Thothmes III. who, however, reproduced it in granite, and commemorated the original founder by inscribing his name upon the walls. The edifice is remarkable for its extreme simplicity of its plan, and the absence

¹ See the measurements in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, vol. i. pp. 273-4, and *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, vol. i. pp. 140-1, where the measurements are given in feet and inches, and added together amount to 120.2 metres, or 41 ft. 4 in.

² See above, vol. i. pp. 273-4, and *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, vol. i. pp. 140-1, where the measurements are given in feet and inches, and added together amount to 120.2 metres, or 41 ft. 4 in.

of all architectural embellishment. Usursusen also built chambers for the priests attached to the edifice, and especially one for the 'chief seer' of the temple, which continued to the time of Rameses IX., when it had to be restored, having fallen into decay.

At Tanis in the Delta,¹ at Abydos,² and at Edfu³ yet⁴ Usursusen appears to have constructed temples, which were adorned with sculptures, inscriptions, and colossal statues.⁵ He also—in person or by his agents—erected monuments in the Wady Magara,⁶ and at Wady Hafa on the Nile, a little above the Second Cataract. This last named monument commemorated his principal conquest, and with conveniently introduced an account of his chief military expedition.

We have seen that under the sixth dynasty, Egypt began to stretch out her arm towards the south,⁷ and that the negro tribes of Northern Nubia were already subject to her authority. But at that time the monuments made no mention of the Kaskite or Ethiopians, which in the later period of the independent monarchy played so important a part, sometimes even coming Egypt and coming into contact with Assyria. So late as the reign preceding Usursusen's, when Egypt warred in this quarter, the Ethiopians were still the principal tribe, and Amenemhat I. claimed as his greatest military glory that he had fought with them.⁸ But under Usursusen we find a different condition of things.

¹ Breasted, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 133, vol. ii. p. 131, and.

² *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 140.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 141-2.

⁴ Winkler, on the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 349, and.




⁵ Brugsch, *Historie d'Egypte*, p. 61. Lelewel, *Monum. d'Egypte*, the same, vol. i. p. 523.

⁶ Brugsch, *l.c.*; Lœwermann, p. 501.










⁷ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 51; Breasted, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 135, and 'The Wady Magara' in the Museum of Florence.

⁸ *Supra*, pp. 103-7.

⁹ *Records of the Past*, vol. ii. p. 14, § 12.

The Cushites and their immediate neighbours have, we must suppose, been subjected, and the Egyptians, passing farther south, come into contact with the veritable Cushite race—the dark-skinned nation which had early peopled the whole northern shore of the Indian Ocean, from the mouth of the Indus to the vicinity of Cape Guardafui. Cusartesen coveted the possession of the good region, from which Nubia derived its name,¹ and, proceeding southward along the course of the Nile from the twenty-fourth to the twenty-second parallel, came into hostile collision with the Kushi, —   , or Cushites, who now for the first time make their appearance in Egyptian history, and gave them a severe defeat.² The tribes who fought on the Ethiopian side were, besides the Cushites themselves, the Shemk, the Khieska, the Sheat, and the Akkerka,³ all of whom are mentioned on the tablet which the victor set up to preserve the memory of his success. The Second Cataract was probably now made the boundary of Egypt to the south, Terminus being advanced in this direction a distance of nearly a hundred and fifty miles.

The inscription of Amen, a general employed in this expedition, is chiefly remarkable for its statements concerning the small number of the troops under his command. They are given as 400, or at the utmost 600;⁴ yet they seem to have been irresistible and to have carried all before them. We are reminded of modern African expeditions under a Stanley, a Baker,

¹ The sign for 'gold' in Egyptian is         

or a Gordon, where a few hundred porters and camp-followers easily disperse all the hostile forces that gather to oppose their march, and by superiority of weapons and of discipline are enabled to triumph over thousands. The account given by Amen, reveals an extreme weakness on the part of the tribes assailed, and leads us to suppose that the great nation of the Cushites was only very partially engaged in the war. Amen's object, moreover, seems to have been booty as much as territory; he prides himself on 'conducting the golden treasures' to his master,¹ and on capturing and carrying off a herd of 3,000 cattle.²

Another remarkable personage, who claims a part in the subjugation of the tribes of the south during the reign of Usartasen, bore the name of Mentu-hotep. His official, whose tombstone is among the treasures of the Museum of Boulaq, appears to have held a rank in the kingdom second only to that of the king. He filled at one and the same time the offices of minister of justice, home secretary, chief commissioner of public works, director of public worship, and perhaps of foreign secretary and minister of war.³ 'When we arrived at the gate of the royal residence, all the other great personages who might be present bowed down before him, and did obeisance'.⁴ He was judge, treasurer, general, administrator, artist. He preserved internal peace and routed foreign enemies, instructed men in their duties, and upheld the honour of the gods. No doubt his merits had endeared him greatly to his

¹ *Hieroglyph. History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 13, 1st ed.

² *Ibid.* loc. cit.


³ Mentu-hotep remplissait à la fois les fonctions du ministre de la justice, de l'intérieur, des travaux

publics, et de la religion. *Revue archéologique*, t. viii. p. 13, 1st ed. *Revue archéologique*, t. viii. p. 13, 1st ed. *Revue archéologique*, t. viii. p. 13, 1st ed.

⁴ *Hieroglyph. History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 141, 1st ed. Compare *Esther* ii. 2.

royal master; but we may question whether he does not take too favourable a view of human nature when he says that he was equally beloved by his colleagues and the other great men.

After a sole reign of thirty-two years, Usarsisen associated on the throne his son Amenemhat, conjointly with whom he continued to reign for either three or four years longer.¹ He must have died at a tolerably advanced age, since, from the time of his own association by his father, he had held the royal dignity for forty-five years, and it is not likely that he would be associated before the age of twenty or twenty-five.

Amenemhat II., who took the official title of Nub-khaura,  was, comparatively speaking, an undistinguished prince, and but little is known of Egypt under his reign, though it extended over at least thirty-eight years.² He appears to have continued the wars against the black races of the south,³ while at the same time he extended the sphere of the Egyptian operations in the north-east. In this quarter he not only worked the old mines of the Wady Magdharah, but established a new mining station at Sarabeh el Khadma,⁴ where there is a tablet which he set up in his twenty-fourth year. He repaired the tomb of one of his predecessors, called Amen,⁵ erected a statue in black basalt to his queen, Neferet, 'the virtuous,'⁶ and

¹ Brugsch says 'thirteen' (*History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 120, 1st ed.), Brugsch (*Ancient Egypt*, p. 122), 'four years.'

² Larch speaks of 'the forty-fourth year of Amenemhat II.' (ib. p. 125) but Manetho gives him the twenty-eight years only. And Brugsch (*ib.*) thinks the same number from the 10th tablet.

³ Lelionard, *Monnet d'Hioune Amenemhat*, vol. i. p. 326, Brugsch,

History of Egypt, vol. i. p. 144, 1st ed.

⁴ Brugsch *Ancient Egypt*, 63.

⁵ This king, not otherwise known, is thought to have reigned between the 20th and 22nd years of Amenemhat II., and 22nd and 24th years of Amenemhat III. (see Brugsch, *Ancient Egypt*, vol. i. p. 144, 1st ed.).

⁶ Ibid. p. 147.

executed repairs of public buildings in several cities of the Delta. The chief official of his time was Ka-em-hetep, whose rock-tomb at Beni-Hassan is one of the most remarkable and most richly adorned of those extensive excavations.¹ Amenemhat II. appears to have admitted the hereditary rank of this great noble, on whom he conferred a government which had been held by his maternal grandfather² under Amenemhat I. Following the example of his predecessors, Amenemhat II. elevated his son Usursener to the royal dignity, and reigned conjointly with him for six years, before he entered 'the eternal abodes.'

Usursener II., who was distinguished by the pronunciation of *Sek-kaeptra*,³ ⲥⲁⲕⲁⲓⲡⲧⲣⲁ , had a sole reign of thirteen years only, during which time it does not seem that there occurred any events of much importance. Egypt was flourishing, and was sought by emigrants who quitted their own less favoured countries to fix their abode in the fertile valley of the Nile. Among those whose coming is recorded was a family of Anan, Semite by all appearance, perhaps from Meidan, who, to the number of thirty-seven, entered Egypt in a body, carrying their 'little ones' upon asses, and sought the protection of the reigning Pharaoh through his minister.⁴ Various circumstances of the scene illustrate the arrival in Egypt of the sons of Jacob; but it is not now supposed by any one to represent that occurrence.⁵

¹ See the *Denkmäler* pt. II. pls. 127, &c.

² Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. I. pp. 145 and 146, 1st ed.

³ The name is given as *Usursener* in the 10th English translation of Brugsch's *Egypt*, p. 147, as it is here approved in the French ed. of 1875, and also in Brugsch's *Egypte Ancienne*, vol. I. pt. I. 223, where it was

formerly *Konigsbuch* Taf. vi. No. 141.

⁴ *Denkmäler* pt. I. pls. 13, 142. Compare the description in Herodotus, *History of Egypt*, vol. I. pt. I. 140-7.

⁵ Compare Brugsch, *Egypte Ancienne*, vol. I. p. 208. Herodotus, *History of Egypt*, p. 140.

Kinnahotep remained in favour under the second Usurtasen, who appointed his son Nesht to the governorship of the Cynopolitan satrapy.

A third Usurtasen, designated by the additional name of Senkaem, $\bullet \bullet \bullet \bullet \bullet$, now mounted the throne. We do not know his relationship to his predecessor, but it may be assumed as probable that he was either his son or his nephew. He reigned, according to Brugsch,¹ twenty-six, according to Birch,² thirty-eight years, and was one of the most distinguished monarchs of the twelfth dynasty. Manetho says,³ that he was regarded by the Egyptians as the greatest of their (early?) kings after Osiris; and it is certain that he was in such high repute with the monarchs of the eighteenth dynasty, that they worshipped him as a god and built temples to his honour.⁴ It would seem that these exceptional distinctions were assigned to him mainly for one reason. He was regarded as the conqueror of Ethiopia. Whatever success had previously attended the efforts of his predecessors in this direction, Usurtasen III. was the king who broke the Egyptian power, at any rate for a time, inflicted, on 'the miserable Kush' a series of defeats, and permanently attached to Egypt the tract known as Northern Nubia, or the entire valley of the Nile between the first and the Second Cataract. Usurtasen began his military operations in his eighth year, and starting from Elephantine in the month Epiphi (May) moved southward with a fixed intention, which he expressed in an in-

¹ *op. cit.* p. 157. *Introd. to the Egypt. Monarchs*, p. 450.

² *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 120.

³ *Antiquities of Egypt*, p. 47.

⁴ *Ap. Strabo's Chronography*, vol. i. p. 100, p.

⁵ De Rouge, *Revue Archéologique*.

op. cit. p. 161. *Introd. to the Egypt. Monarchs*, p. 47.

² *op. cit.* p. 120. *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 120.

³ *Antiquities of Egypt*, p. 47.

⁴ *Ap. Strabo's Chronography*, vol. i. p. 100, p.

⁵ *De Rouge, Revue Archéologique*.

scription set up upon the Elephantine island,¹ of reducing to subjection 'the miserable land of KASH.' His expedition was so far successful that in the same year he established two forts, just below the second Cataract, one on either side of the Nile, and set up two pillars with inscriptions warning the black races that they were not to proceed farther northwards, except with the object of importing into Egypt cattle, oxen, goats, or asses.² As, however, the tribes to the east and south were still unsubdued, further steps were needed. Between his eighth and his sixteenth year, Thoutmes III. continued the war with perseverance and ferocity in the tract between the Nile and the Red Sea, leading the men, carrying off the women and the cattle, setting fire to the standing crops, and otherwise conducting the struggle in a way that remains us of the most atrocious razings in the recent history of African warfare.³ Far from being ashamed of these savageries, he gloried in them, and pictured them on the stone columns of victory which in his sixteenth year he set up to commemorate his successes. Finally, in his nineteenth year, he again made an expedition southwards, chastised 'the miserable KASH' once more, and set a record of his victory at Abydos.

The forts built by Thoutmes to protect his conquests are still visible on either bank of the Nile, a little below the second Cataract, and bear the names of Khammet and Semach. They are massive constructions, built of numerous square blocks of granite and sandstone,⁴ and placed upon two steep rocks which

¹ Breussch, *History of Egypt*, vol. I, p. 100. See the *Denkmal*, vol. ii, pl. 180 &

² Breussch, p. 101, *Denkmal*, vol. i, pl. 181.
³ Breussch, *Egypt's Place*, vol. ii, pp. 200-1.

rose up perpendicularly from the river. The columns on which he commemorated his conquests are also visible,¹ and are covered with inscriptions deeply cut into the stone. One of the inscriptions tells us that the king had permitted the erection of his statue at Sennu or the neighbourhood,² but up to the present time no traces of this interesting monument have been found. Usurtasen worked the inexhaustible quarries of Hatmanûti, and set up memorials there, in which he professed himself a worshipper of the god Min, or Khen.³ In the island of Behel he exhibited himself as a devotee of Anka or Anuka.⁴ His name appears also at Assuan⁵ (Syene) and elsewhere.

It is not necessary to suppose that Usurtasen III., though regarded by the Egyptians themselves as one of their greatest kings, and consequently deified, was in reality a man of extraordinary ability. His actions may have contributed to form the character of that ideal Sesostris⁶ whom the Egyptians paraded before the eyes of the Greeks and Romans as their great heroic monarch, but there was nothing really astounding in them, nothing really admirable. At the head of disciplined troops he gained repeated victories over the half-armed and untrained races, in part negro, in part Ethiopic, of the south. By a 'continued unrelenting persecution,'

¹ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 101, 1st ed.

² Birch says that he set up his statue in the spot. *Ancient Egypt*, p. 17; but the inscription quoted by Brugsch (*History of Egypt*, p. 102) merely states that he had given permission for its erection.

³ Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, pt. II. pl. 36; compare Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 106, 1st ed.

⁴ *Denkmäler*, pt. II. pl. 136 b.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 136 c.

⁶ Manetho substituted the name of Sesostris for that of Usurtasen, according to both Eusebius and Syncellus (ap. Syncellus, *Chronograph*, ed. i. p. 50 b and c, 60 c), and assigned him the name which Herodotus applies to that monarch (ii. 102^b). He called the father of Sennusis II., not Sesostris, but Sethos.

⁷ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 101, 1st ed.

he so far intimidated them, that they were induced to submit to Egyptian supremacy, and to endure the loss of freedom and independence. And he understood the value of fortresses as a means of establishing a dominion, of putting a detested yoke on a proud nation's neck, and of making revolt expensive, if not impossible. He was also so far ambitious, so far desirous of posthumous fame, that he took care to have his deeds declared in words, and 'graven with an iron pen in the rock for ever.' But in this respect he merely followed the previous traditional practice of the Egyptian kings, while in his conquests he only what he exceeded the limits reached by more than one of his predecessors. What gave him his fame was the fact, that, having firmly settled Ethiopia, he was looking to whom his conquest was all directed,¹ and, as this was the only considerable tract where the monarchs of the old empire subjugated, those of the new bent upon conquering them. Yes, singled him out for approval and admiration. When triumphs could be put in his honour, and honour been put on a par with the gods taken and killed,² myths naturally clustered about his name, the Sesostris legend grew up; Thut-tasen became a giant more than seven feet high,³ and the conqueror of Libya, Europe, and Asia. His *stelæ* were said to be found in Palestine, Asia Minor, Scythia, and Thracia,⁴ he left a colony at Colchis,⁵ dug all the canals by which Egypt was in its most

Jeb. xvi. 24.

¹ Herod. ii. 110.

² Wilmann, *Iconography of Phæcia*, p. 101. Herod. *Egypt's Place*, vol. i. p. 201. *Frugach Hist. of Egypt* v. pp. 102-4, 1st ed.

³ Manetho ap. Syncell. *Chronicon*

graph. I. ii.

⁴ Herod. ii. 103-4. Two sculptures in Asia Minor ascribed to it relate to Sesostris and are called by Mr. Spon in Herod. They are certainly not Egyptian.

⁵ Herod. ii. 103.

flourishing period intersected; invented geometry; and set up colossi above fifty feet in height!¹

According to M. Lenormant,² Usursaten III. was buried in one of the brick pyramids at Dushoor; but this is not generally admitted by Egyptologists. The fragment of a cartouche found by Petrie in the debris of the north pyramid is quite insufficient to prove the supposed interment, since the term and element of a royal name, which was all that the cartouche contained, was one common to many monarchs.³

The successor of Usursaten III. was another Amenemhat, the third of the name. There is monumental evidence that he held the throne for forty-two years,⁴ and, as this is the exact number of years assigned to him by the Talmi papyrus, we may conclude that such was the full length of his reign. The official name which he assumed on ascending the throne was Ikhnemut,

𓂏𓂲𓂏𓂲. This title is one of greater significance than usual, since it may be translated, 'the son of justice' or 'of righteousness,' and would naturally imply a special desire, on the part of the monarch, who bore it, to rule justly and equitably over all his subjects. Amenemhat's reign corresponded to this taking an omen-tent. Instead of following in his predecessor's footsteps, and directing the forces of Egypt to the occupation of new territory, he, after one war with the negroes,⁵ which was perhaps provoked by an incursion, threw the whole energy of himself and people into the accomplishment of an enterprise from which no glory was to be derived beyond that which is justly due to

¹ Herod. ii. 104-10.

her, Amenemhat II., *Sesher-tat* p. II. and *Amarna*.

² *Man. et. of Hist. Anc. Egypte* vol. i. p. 301.

³ Langsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 171. 1st ed.

⁴ See to Men-kau-ru, Men-kau-

⁵ *Ibid.*

the conception and preservation of wise measures tend
 Fig. 15 to increase greatly the prosperity of a numerous
 people. Egypt depends for its productiveness wholly
 upon the Nile, which each year at the time of the
 inundation spreads a fresh deposit of the richest allu-
 vium over the entire region to which the waters extend
 at their highest. The uniformity of nature, even in
 those operations which seem most irregular, is sur-
 prising, and the inundation not only occurs without
 let or hindrance year after year, but begins and ends at the same
 time of year almost to a day, and for the most part
 observes a remarkable regularity in the height to
 which it reaches, and the limits whereto it extends.¹
 Still, there are occasions when this uniformity is broken
 in upon. Now and then the rains in Abyssinia,
 which are the true cause of the annual overflow, fall
 less plentifully than usual, and the rise of the river is
 somewhat, or even considerably, below the average.
 The fruits of the Egyptian is under these circumstances
 grow scant. Only the lands close to the river bank
 are inundated, those at a greater distance lie parched
 and dry throughout the entire summer, and fail to
 produce a blade of grass or a spike of corn. Famine
 strikes the people in the face, and unless large supplies
 of grain have been laid up in store previously, or can
 be readily imported, the actual starvation of thousands
 is the necessary consequence.² On the other hand,
 sometimes, though rarely, the fountains of the heavens
 are opened, and, the Abyssinian rainfall being exces-
 sive, the river rises beyond the expected height.

¹ See above, vol. i. p. 20.

On Egyptian antiquities, see the
Description de l'Égypte, vol. x. p.
 402, and compare Brugnot. *His-*

tory of Egypt, vol. I. pp. 193-4, 197
 ed.; Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 68;
 Rawlinson, *Historical Illustrations*
of the Old Testament, pp. 5-2.

Calamitous results at once ensue. The mounds erected to protect the cities, the villages, and the pasture lands, are surmounted or washed away, the houses, built often of mud, collapse; cattle are drowned; human life itself is imperiled, and the evils suffered are almost worse than those which follow upon a deficient flood.¹ To save Egypt from the two opposite dangers arising from an excessive and a defective Nile, hydraulic works are required on the largest scale: reservoirs have to be provided of vast extent, wherein the superfluous water of an overabundant inundation may be increased or detained, the pressure upon emendments being thus relieved, and from which again the precious fluid may be dispensed in the case of a deficient Nile, and their generosity of nature compensated by the providence and care of man. It is doubtful whether such has ever been done in this matter that might be done, but at any rate it is clear that Amenhot III. made one great effort in the right direction, and commenced one most important work of the kind, and that with an engineering skill and ability that are now almost lost. Taking advantage of the existence of a natural depression in the desert to the west of Egypt,² extending over an area of nearly 400 square miles, he formed in the south-eastern part of this space a vast artificial basin or lake—known to the Greeks as Lake Morris³—which extended from north to south

¹ Compare above, vol. x. p. 172 and see Herodotus, *History of Egypt* vol. i. p. 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

² The desert generally is considerably above the level of the

valley of the Nile: the lower part of it is 1000 ft. or more below it.

³ Herodotus, vol. i. p. 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

a distance of fourteen miles,¹ and from east to west a distance varying from six miles to eleven. The area of the lake was estimated at 465,479,000 square metres,² or about 480,000,000 square yards. It occupied an elevated position between two comparatively low tracts, the valley of the Nile on the one side, and the north western portion of the Fayoum upon the other. A canal, derived from the *Bahr Youmf*, or western branch of the Nile, cut partly in the rock,³ supplied the lake with water, when the Nile was high, and afforded a sensible relief in times of pressure from high flood. Through the same canal water could be drawn from the lake when the Nile was low, and a large tract along the base of the Libyan range could thus be irrigated, when a low inundation did not reach it.⁴ At the same time, all that portion of the Fayoum which lay outside the lake, to the north and west, or about three-fourths of its surface, might be kept under constant cultivation by means of the water which could be supplied to it from the great reservoir. A vast dam or dyke, forty feet high in places, partly of sand masonry, partly of earth and pebbles, formed the boundary of

de l'Égypte,¹ Antiquités,² vol. 3, pp. 70—11, is now pretty generally explained. The measurements of M. Lénant de Bellefonds embodied in his work *Mémoire sur le lac Méris* (Alexandria 1841) are cited by Wilkinson (Pawbancien's *Illustrations*, vol. 1, p. 200, note 7) as being, and even by some, *Égypte Ancienne*, vol. 1, p. 322, 50) and his conclusions have been adopted by almost all recent critics. They are however manifestly misapprehended by Dean Buckeney (*Herodotus with a Commentary*, vol. 1, p. 303—4).

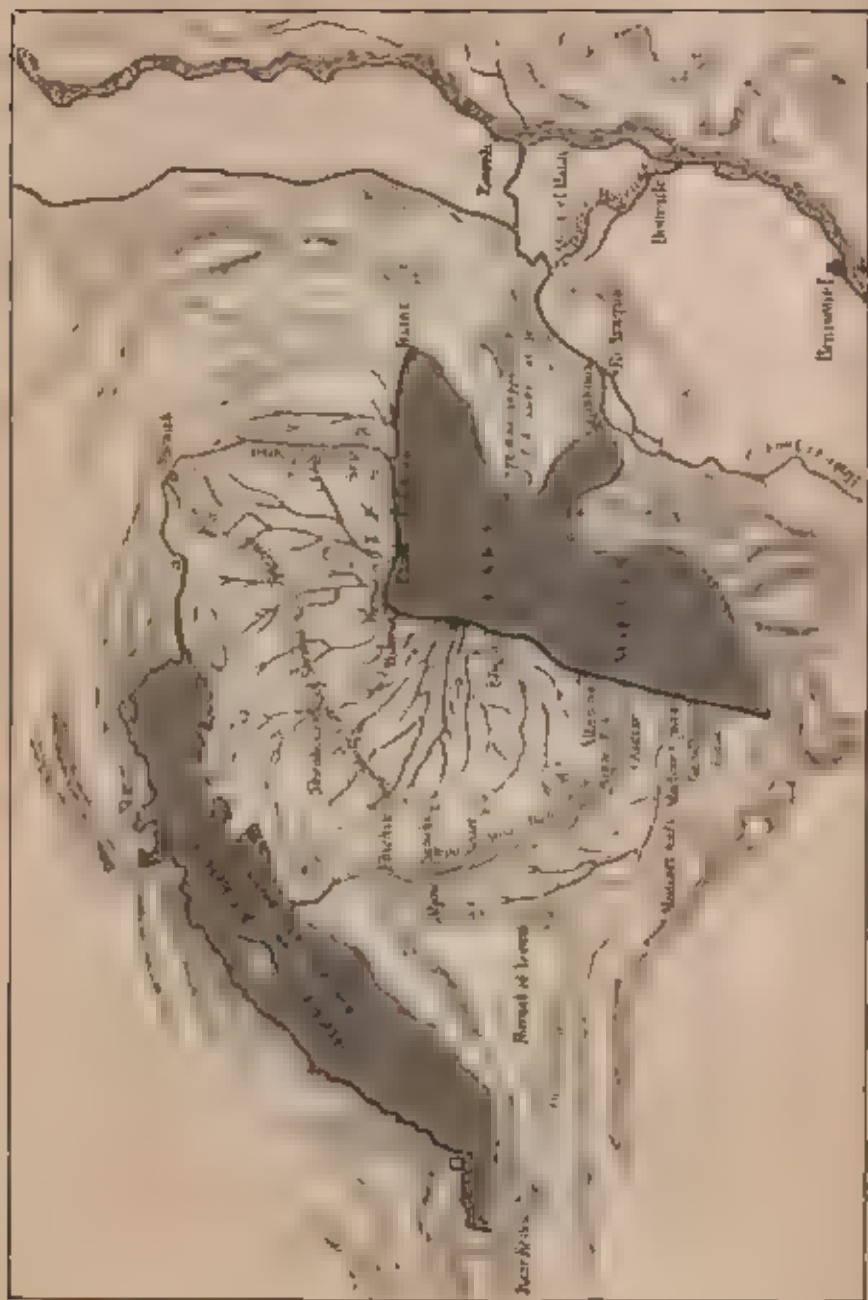
¹ See the map opposite which follows M. Lénant de Bellefonds,

and compare Herod. ii. 140, which gives the lake this direction. The Herodotus Heron runs nearly from east to west.

² Lénant de Bellefonds, *Mémoire*, p. 20.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁴ Herod. ii. 140. Strab. xiv. 1, § 37. The calculations of M. Lénant de Bellefonds, pp. 20, 21, show that the waters of the lake would be sufficient to irrigate the northern and western portions of the Fayoum, would have sufficed for the supply of the whole western bank of the Nile from Thebes to the enclosure at Canopus during one half of the year.



MAP OF THE FIVE LAKES SHOWING THE GREAT LAKES AND THE ARTIFICIAL LAKE MAPS



the reservoir to the north and west, while southward and eastward it extended to the range of hills which separates between the basin of the Fayoum and the Nile valley. The artificial barrier ran a little east of north, from Tlut in the south to Banno in the centre of the Fayoum, a distance of fifteen miles; at Banno it made a right angle, and was then carried in a line a little south of east from Banno, past El Ellam and El Edeon, to the eastern range in about lat $29^{\circ} 26'$, making a distance of about twelve miles more. Thus the entire dyke had a length of twenty-seven miles, and, if it be regarded as averaging thirty feet in height, and at least the same in width,¹ would have contained a mass of material amounting to nearly forty-eight millions of cubic yards, or three-sevenths more than the cubic contents of the Great Pyramid of Ghizah.² In connection with the canal and reservoir, a system of sluices and floodgates was set up, whereby the flow of the water was regulated as the necessities of agriculture required.³

At the same time special pains were taken to ascertain before-hand what the rise of the Nile was likely to be; and for this purpose a Nilometer was established at the newly occupied station of Semneh, where from the time of Amenemhat III the height of the inundation was duly marked upon the rocky bank of the river, with a short inscription giving the regnal year of the monarch.⁴ It is a remarkable fact that the average

¹ Towards the north the width of the monument according to M. de Hellet (ib. p. 101) was sixty metres, or nearly 200 feet; but this can only be only at the base.

² M. Lecomte observes, with justice, that the works constructed

by Amenemhat III were as vast as those of the fourth dynasty, and considerably more useful. (*Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. 1, p. 151.)

³ Ibid. sup. i. 62 § 2, Strabo l. c.

⁴ Heuglin, *History of Egypt*, vol. 1, p. 167, let. ed.

annual rise under Amenemhat at Semneh in Nubia exceeded that of the present day by more than twenty feet.¹ As the rise in Egypt itself seems to be nearly the same now as under the twelfth dynasty,² we must account for the difference at Semneh by local causes; the course of the Nile must have been anciently blocked by rocks which have given way, and the water must thus have been held back in Nubia, and prevented from flowing off rapidly. No great difference would have been produced in Egypt by the removal of the obstacles, except perhaps that the inundation would have come on somewhat more rapidly, and its duration have been a little diminished.

While engaged in the completion of his great work of utility in the region of the Fayum, Amenemhat also undertook some constructions, in its neighbourhood, of an ornamental and artistic character. At a point on the eastern side of his reservoir, projecting into it towards the west, he built what seems really to have been a palace, but what the Greeks and Romans called a 'Labyrinth,' and believed to be an intricate and puzzle.³ It was constructed of white siliceous limestone and red granite,⁴ and comprised, we are told,⁵ 3,640 chambers, half above ground, and half below it. Besides chambers, it possessed numerous colonnades and courts, covered with sculptures, and roofed. Herodotus says,⁶ with stone. At one corner was a pyramid, 240 feet

¹ Heuser, *loc. cit.* Compare Birch *Antiquities of Egypt*, p. 169.

² See vol. i. p. 1, note *.

³ Herod. ii. 148. Minichschup *Symmetrische Baukunst*, vol. i. p. 369. Diod. Sic. i. 61. Strab. xvil. i. § 24; &c.

⁴ See Pan. II. N. xxxvii. 15,

where the work of Amenemhat is compared with that ascribed to Darius.

⁵ Waddington is the author of *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 226, note ², 3d ed.

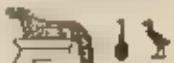
⁶ Herod. ii. 148.

⁷ Ibid.

high, according to our authority, and, according to modern measurements, 300 feet square at the base.¹

To supply the materials for his constructions, Amenemhat had recourse to the quarries of Hammamît, where inscriptions belonging to his reign² record the instructions which he gave to his officers on various occasions, and in one instance his own personal presence in connection with ornamental work for the Layoom, including a colossal statue of himself to be set up at the provincial capital.³

He also worked the mines of the Soudan region, both those of Wady Magharat and the more recently established ones of the Sarabat-el Khadyr. At both places there are tablets executed during his reign; and at the former they are numerous, and cover the period extending from his second to his forty-second year.⁴ At the Sarabat-el Khadyr, they include a notice of the erection of a temple to Athor,⁵ the reputed 'mistress' of the country, who at once presided over the copper mines and was the 'lady of turpines'.⁶

Amenemhat III. was succeeded by another monarch of the same name, whom Manetho calls Ammenemes,⁷ and to whom he assigns a reign of eight years. The Turin papyrus gives him nine years, three months, and seventeen days, which is probably the true duration of his reign. His sister, Sabak-nefel-ri, , whom he seems to have associated, reigned conjointly with him during the last four years of this period.

¹ Wilson, *Egypt's Place*, vol. II.

² Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 60.

³ p. 60.

⁴ *Records of the Past*, vol. VII.

Annuaire, pt. 1, p. 72.

p. 60.

⁵ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*,

⁶ Ap. Sponck. *Chronograph*, vol.

vol. I, p. 71, la ed.

p. 60, la.

⁷ Ibid.

Both appear to have interested themselves in the works of the Pyramids, where their names are found,² and where they are thought by some to have been interred.³ The two pyramids crowned with colossal statues, seen by Herodotus to rise out of the waters of the Lake Moeris,⁴ are identified with the stem-bases now existing at Bhamo,⁵ at the north-western angle of the lake, and are thought to have borne the effigies of these monarchs, whose names have been found on various blocks of stone in this region. Amenemhat IV. seems also to have worked the mines of the Wady Magharah and the Sarabit-el-Khadim,⁶ where the labours of the workmen were sub-rewarded by rich yields of copper and *malcha*.⁶ But the period is, on the whole, one upon which the monuments throw little light. As so often happens, a dynasty of unusual vigour and energy expires in a cloud and darkness: monumental effort is succeeded by idleness and inaction, life and movement by exhaustion; nor so it until a considerable space has passed, but the roll of history once more unfolds to us events of interest and personages of importance.

It has been said that Egypt under this dynasty enjoyed its apogee, and that its civilisation attained now the fullest expansion which it ever reached under the

¹ *Brugsmauer*, pt. ii. pl. 140. Compare *Brugsmauer's History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 171, 1st ed., *Antiquities of Egypt*, p. 72.

² Birch, p. 72. *Bunsen, Egypt's Place*, vol. ii. p. 74.

³ Herod. ii. 141. Herodotus probably beheld Lake Moeris from the site of the Labyrinth. At this horizon, between seven and eight miles off, he would see the pyramids of Bhamo crowned with their

statues. (*Bunsen, Egypt's Place*, vol. i. pl. 12, pp. 17-18.) The lake would form his horizon on either side of the pyramids, and he would not be able to see that it did not extend beyond Bhamo.

⁴ *Bunsen*, vol. ii. p. 254.

⁵ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 79.

⁶ The name of the hieroglyphical inscription is recorded on the *Brugsmauer* as 'the turquoise' (*History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 172, 1st ed.).

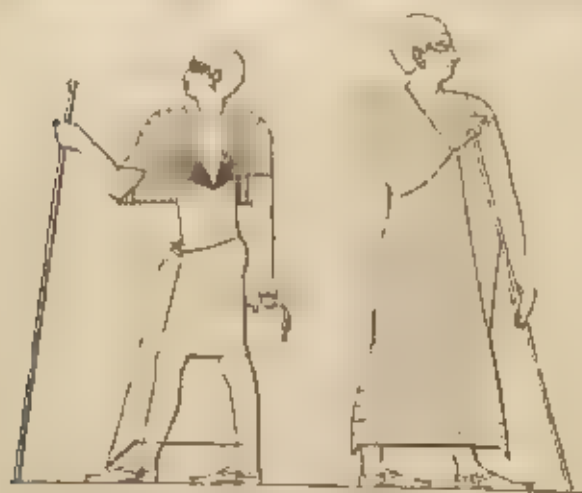
Pharaohs.¹ There is considerable difficulty in balancing one period against another in the history of a civilised state, and in deciding when, on the whole, the highest perfection was arrived at. In our own country the Elizabethan age has its admirers, the reign of Queen Anne is by some regarded as the true Augustan period; while there is a class who maintains that no former period equals the glories of the present day. There are various grounds on which the times of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties may be upheld as the culminating period of Egyptian greatness, alike in arms and in arts. But the eulogy which has been passed upon the period of the twelfth, even if it be untrue, has beyond a doubt some important grounds on which it may support itself.

Pyramoson, as observed in the preceding chapter,² took from the time of the eleventh dynasty, and under the presidency of Fehes, a practical and utilitarian turn. The great efforts of the principal monarchs of both the eleventh and twelfth dynasties had very markedly this character. New openings were made for trade, new routes established and provided with wells and guards, forts built to check invasion, mines worked, the Nile carefully watched and measured, and finally a huge reservoir made, and a gigantic system of irrigation established in the Fayoum and along the whole of the western bank of the river from Ben-Souef to the shores of the Mediterranean. Commercial intercourse was at the same time established with the Nubians, who furnished cattle, gold, and slaves; with the East African tribes (and through them with Arabia,

¹ Lenormant, *Manual of Egyptian Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 365.

² *Supra*, p. 180.

and perhaps India for spices, gums, rare woods, precious stones, and wonderful animals, and with the Syrians for *kohl* or stibium,¹ ladanum, and balsam.² Foreign engravings were readily received into the country, and brought with them novelties in dress and customs, perhaps sometimes new inventions or even new arts.³ Luxury increased. Palaces were painted and adorned with gold,⁴ carpets were spread upon their floors;⁵ and the number of courts and chambers was multiplied beyond former precedent.⁶ Varieties in dress were introduced. While the simple linen tunic still constituted the great mass of men, there were some



Dresses worn under the Twelfth Dynasty

¹ Brugsch, *History of Egypt* vol. i, p. 137. 1st ed., Borch, *Ancient Egypt* p. 60.

² *Gen. xxxv. 46.*

³ See the *Descentaire*, pt. ii, p. 131. 3. The six-winged were carried by one of the *immigrants* (pt. i, 131) in a form quite new to Egypt at the period.

⁴ *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, pp.

14-16, § 13.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 12, § 11.

⁶ Herod. ii. 164. Allow us for a moment's want of exaggeration, we must still conclude from the account given by the writer of the number of apartments in the palace, known as 'the Labyrinth,' was prodigious.

who affected a more elaborate style of costume, and wore, besides the tunic, a cape over their shoulders, and a second tunic, of a thinner material, over the first, or even a long robe, reaching nearly to the ankles.¹ Bracelets and anklets were clad with precious stones, and the former worn by both men and women, but the latter by women only.² Men had sometimes artificial beards, which seem to have been attached to the wig.³ The low-backed chair without arms was still in common use; but another is seen, which has a high back, and also arms.⁴ Houses began to be adorned with columns, the pillars of which imitated the lotus blossom. Field sports were pursued with increased ardour. Gentlemen of the highest rank not only indulged in fowling, as formerly, but speared fish with their own hand, and hunted the lion⁵ and the antelope.



Dog resembling a Tachapt.

Great attention was paid to the breed of dogs, and several new types were produced, more especially one with short legs, resembling the modern turk-spit.⁶ In moving about their estates, the grandees had their

¹ *Denkmäler*, pt. ii. p. 34, b, d, e.

² *Ibid.* pls. 128 and 129.

³ *Ibid.* pls. 129-132.

⁴ *Ibid.* pl. 129, upper line.

⁵ A lion is represented as wounded by two arrows; one of the wounds depicted upon the tomb of Sekem-hetep (*Denkmäler*, pt. ii. pl. 132). That king hunted the lion at this

period appears from the 'Festung' of Amenemhat (*Revue de la Pléiade*, p. 1).

⁶ Burch in *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, v. p. 157. I compare the *Phocæa* of pt. i. pl. 11, and for other varieties of the canine species see pls. 132 and 134.

selves carried in highly ornamented litters, which were slung on two poles and borne on the shoulders of four men.¹ To amuse their leisure hours in their homes, they admitted into their apartments professional tumblers,² who were generally fair-haired and light-complexioned, and are thought to have been Libyans from the northern parts of Africa.³

Architecture somewhat lowered its pretensions. Instead of the enormous pyramids of the early period, the kings now constructed for their tombs either pyramids of moderate size, or merely underground chambers,⁴ upon which they employed other ornaments. The style of their temples seems to have been massive, but wanting in ornamentation. They, however, introduced certain new features into their architectural works which were striking, and employed others upon a scale which had not been previously adopted. Of the latter kind was their use of the obelisk,⁵ while under the former head must be classed their erection of colossal statues upon the top of truncated pyramids.⁶ In some of their buildings they fastened the stones together with metal cramps.⁷ If the Labyrinth, as seen by Herodotus, was really the work of a king of the twelfth dynasty,⁸ we must ascribe to the period a certain

¹ *Denkmalen*, pt. ii. pl. 120. For a representation see above, vol. i. p. 5, 5.

² See above, vol. i. p. 274 and compare *Denkmalen*, pt. i. pl. 120, upper row.

³ Herod. *History of Egypt* vol. i. pp. 1 and 1.5, last ed.

⁴ *Id.* vol. i. p. 144.

⁵ On the early date at which the form of the obelisk was known to the Egyptians, see above p. 57.

⁶ Herod. ii. 140. It is clear that

a pyramid must have been truncated to admit of the superimposition of a colossal statue. The combination can scarcely have been very celebrated by (See *Monuments antiques et modernes of the two pyramids of Heliopolis, Egypt's Plain*, vol. ii. pl. 20.)

⁷ *Monuments of the First*, vol. ii. p. 14.

⁸ Probably it had been greatly added to by later kings before the time of Herodotus's visit.

amount of architectural magnificence, though in any case the admiration of Herodotus for the edifice seems to have been overstrained, and beyond its merits.¹

The oldest columns, which have been called 'Proto-Doric,'² belong to the times whereof we are speaking,³ and were used in the figures of excavated tombs constructed for themselves and their families by the nobles. These tombs were of extraordinary dimensions, and in some instances most elaborately carved and painted with scenes from real life, similar in their general character to those of the Pyramid period.⁴ The reliefs are remarkable for harmony, elegance, and delicacy of workmanship,⁵ but have less vigour, less reality and life, than those of the first period. Conventionalism is more apparent in them, hieratic canons are in force, and each figure is designed with strict regard to an established law of proportions. Sculpture in the round reaches a higher degree of excellence; and a fragment from a colossal statue of King Usutasen I., discovered at Thebes, and now in the Berlin Museum, is viewed as 'the *chef d'œuvre* of the art of the first empire, and as leaving nothing to be desired.'⁶

The chief modifications of the religion worthy of remark are, first, the distinct elevation of Ammon to the headship of the Pantheon, indicated by the erection in his honour of the *great temple* at the capital, by the position which he occupies on the obelisk of Usut-

¹ Witness to the author's *Hieroglyphics*, vol. ii. p. 226, note 1, and *ibid.*

² See above, vol. i. p. 213.

³ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 144. Text: *Le monument Maouret* & *History of Ammon*, vol. i. p. 363.

⁴ See especially the tomb of Khnum-hotep, mentioned in the *Denkmäler*, pt. ii. pls. 120-122. (See above, p. 100.)

⁵ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 178, 1st ed.

men I in the Fayoum,¹ and by the frequent employment of his name as an element in the appellations of kings and other great personages,² secondly, the advance of Sabak from a local and subordinate position to one of high rank among the universal divinities of the country,³ and thirdly, the more positive and general recognition of the absolute divinity of the kings. Sabak's ascension is the natural consequence of the prominence given to the cult of the Fayoum by the later monarchs of the dynasty, since the crocodile-headed god had been from a very ancient date the special deity of that district, and the crocodile itself was always viewed as sacred there. Ammon's elevation is more difficult to account for, since he does not appear to have been *anciently* of much account in Thebes,⁴ if he was ever known there, which is doubtful. His position seems the result of the accident that a private individual, in whose time his was the chief element, happened to raise himself to the throne. Amenemhat I. at once began the temple, which gradually became the greatest in Egypt; his son, Usirtasen I., continued this work, and assigned to Ammon the first and highest place on his Fayoum circuit; he also gave to his eldest son the name of Amen,⁵ and to another, apparently, that of Amenemhat. Henceforth Ammon's place at the

¹ Supra p. 140. Ammon holds the first place in the highest compartment of this monument.

² See Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, &c. pp. 140, 141, &c. & *Guide to Gizeh*, pp. 20, 27, 32, 33, &c. &c.

³ Sabak is represented in the three tiers of the Fayoum temple, and is placed on a par with Thoth,

and before Isis, &c., &c., Amen, Amen, and Horem. (*Monuments*, pl. i. pl. 110.) His name likewise is prominent in royal and other inscriptions. (See *supra* *History of Egypt*, &c. p. 141, 142, &c. &c., *Guide to Gizeh*, pp. 5, 26, 27, 31, &c.)

⁴ Compare above p. 138.

⁵ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, &c. i. p. 133, cit. ed.

head of the Theban gods was well ascertained, and the predominance of Thebes in the later history gave him ultimately a pre-eminence over all the other deities throughout Egypt.

The *quasi*-divinity of the kings had always been asserted by themselves, and no doubt in the language of adulation familiar to courtiers it had occasionally been admitted, even from an early date. But it is not till the time of the twelfth dynasty that acknowledgments, made in the most *unaffected* and innocent fashion, become common and seem to be a matter of course. 'When I was brought to Egypt,' says Sanchu, 'it was as though a god was in it—a god such as one which a beneficent god presides over—he spoke to me, and I answered him, saying, "Save us!" His son comes home . . . he also is a god.'¹ And again, he addresses the Pharaoh as follows—'Thy majesty is the good god . . . the great god, the equal of the Sun-God.'² And when, at the invitation of the monarch, he returns to Egypt from Idoum, he remarks—'When I came near him, I fell upon my body amazed before him. The god addressed me mildly.'³ Similarly, Amenemhet prescribes to Usurtasen I., 'The god Tuah he is himself.'⁴ How far these acknowledgments were mere flattery, how far they represented the sincere belief of the Egyptians, it is impossible to determine; but in either case they must have exerted an injurious influence upon the minds of the monarchs themselves, who were pulled up by the high titles bestowed on them, and became impressed with an undue sense of their own importance and dignity. The phrase which

¹ *Records of the Past*, vol. vi. p.

157

² *Ibid.* p. 145.

³ *Ibid.* p. 144.

⁴ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 146, ll. 75, 76, 1st ed.

made the Pharaoh of the Exodus, time after time, 'harden his heart,' and oppose himself to the declared will of Jehovah, was the natural consequence of a system which caused weak men to believe in the reality of their own divinity, and strong-minded men to feel an extreme contempt for others.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE DYNASTIES BETWEEN THE TWELFTH AND THE SEVENTEENTH.

The Thirteenth (Theban) Dynasty in part contemporaneous with the Fourteenth (Vite) and the Fifteenth and Sixteenth (Shepherd) Dynasties of Egypt at this period. Nomads and many Memorials of the Kings. Permanent nomads. Pressure on the North-eastern Frontier. Invasion brought about by previous disturbances, a final disintegration.

VERBA TERTIUM IN OMNIBUS QUÆSTIONIBUS LXXI. — LXXII. — 70

THE four dynasties, wherewith Manetho filled this interval, are regarded by most Egyptologists as running contemporaneously in either three or four places.¹ The thirteenth dynasty bore sway in Thebes, and held possession of Middle and Upper Egypt, while the fourteenth maintained itself at Xois in the centre of the Delta,² and the fifteenth and sixteenth ruled, either consecutively or contemporaneously, over some portion of the more eastern districts. Manetho's numbers for this period are untrustworthy, and, where not false, are misleading. The thirteenth dynasty may, for instance, have included sixty royal personages,³ but we gather from the Turin Papyrus that they were

¹ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 194, 1st edit. Brugsch, *Egypt's Past*, vol. ii. pp. 444-7. Lebon, *Manetho's History of Egypt*, vol. i. pp. 358-60. Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. pp. 249-51, 3rd edit.

² Xois is the modern Khent (Egypt

Khisan) i. e. the lower portion of the tract between the Damietta and Kharga branches about lat. 31° 0'. It lay north-east of Xois and north-west of Sedjenytua.

³ Manetho 42. Syncell. *Chronographi* vol. i. p. 61, 2.

pretenders to the throne, rather than real kings, and that the average time during which each one of them bore the royal rule was about three or three and a half years¹. It is not unlikely that in many instances they contended one against another, and some of them certainly, many of them possibly, reigned no more than a few months or a few years. On the other hand, there seem to have² been, in the earlier part of the thirteenth dynasty, some monarchs of note, and it is thought that for a certain number of years the dynasty bore away over the whole country, disruption not having set in until they had held the throne for two centuries or two centuries and a half³. Such calculations of time are, however, exceedingly uncertain. The kings of the period, as a general rule, left no monuments, and, until forced by the curiosity of the Greeks to make chronological conjectures, the Egyptians themselves had no estimate of the duration of any dynasty, much less of these undistinguished ones.

It is difficult to conjecture the causes which, after so glorious a dynasty as the twelfth, suddenly reduced Egypt under the thirteenth, to impotence and dumbness. There is no indication of foreign invasion, at any rate for a century or two after Amenemhat IV. and Sobekneferu set up their monuments at the edge of the Lake Meris, but from some cause or other a gap occurs in the Egyptian records, and if it were not for a single fragile document, the papyrus of Turin—the very names of the kings would have been blotted out. Internal troubles are suggested as the most probable cause of the long silence; and the latest






¹ See Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, Hermann, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i. p. 126. *Ibid.*

² *Ibid.* pp. 153-4. Compare Le-

normant, *Manuel d'Histoire An-*

cienne, vol. i. p. 160.



writer on the subject ventures to lay it down as 'almost certain, that the history of Egypt at this epoch must have been made up of times of revolt and interior troubles, and murders and assassinations, by which the life and length of reign of the princes was not subjected to the ordinary conditions of human existence.'¹ The kings appear to have maintained the practice of ruling under two names—a real personal appellative, and a throne-name, or title of honour assumed at their accession; though it is not often that both designations have come down to us. They must have maintained persistently the worship of Subak, the crocodile-headed god, affected by the preceding dynasty, since at least seven of them bore the name of Subak-hotep, which is translated 'servant of Subak' by Dr. Brugsen,² and they must also have been devoted adherents of Ra, the Sun-god, whose name is found to have formed an element in at least two-thirds of the royal appellations of the period. Annon, on the other hand, is less identified with Ra, of which there is no evidence, must have been in comparative disfavour, since his name occurs but once in the entire list, and then nearly at the commencement, where we come upon a Ra-Amennu but. Nut and Nefer-Tanu seem also to have received recognition from the dynasty, who, so far as the evidence of their names goes, admitted but a narrow Pantheon.

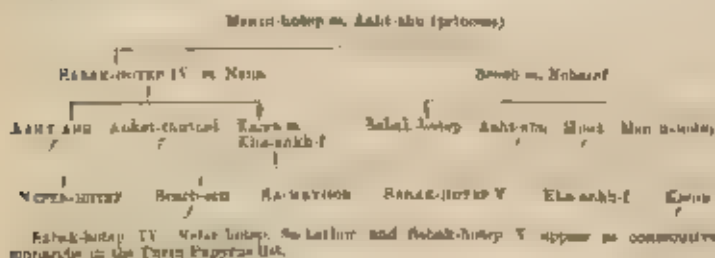
The dynasty commences with a Subak-hotep,  or  , who bears the throne-name of Ra-khat-tan,  , and may possibly have been a son of Subak-nefraru,³ but who has left no monument, and is only

¹ Brugsen, vol. i, p. 144 & seq. *Hieroglyphes in Hieroglyphen Egypte*,



² Ibid. p. 102. It is not known whether the name is 'servant' or 'son'.

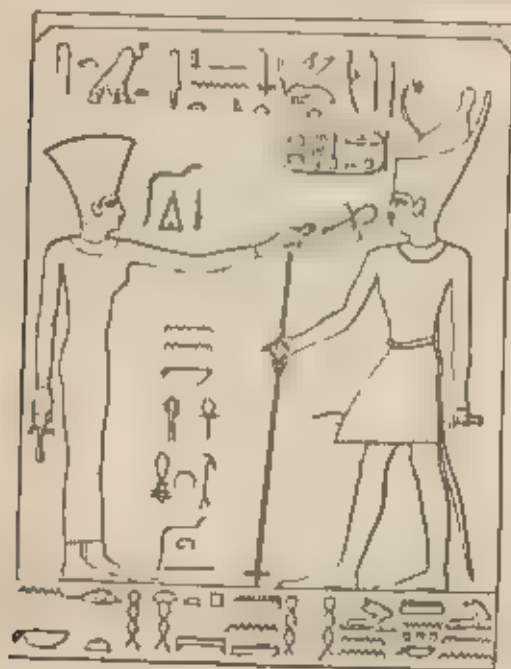
³ See the name of Annon, and the name of Nefer-Tanu, and the name of Subak-hotep, in the list of kings of Egypt, vol. i, p. 102, cited.)

known to us from the Turin Papyrus. He was followed after an interval by Ra-Sabak-hotep or Sabak-hotep II, whose throne-name is not known. A third Sabak-hotep, distinguished as Ra-sokhem-khu-tam, , mounted the throne soon afterwards, and left an inscription recording the height of the Nile at Semneh, which he set up in the third year of his reign.¹ Four kings intervened between this Sabak-hotep and the next, who was known as Ra-sokhem-sut-tam, , and left granite statues inscribed with his name at Tuna in the Delta.² This monarch appears to have been the son of a certain Mentu-hotep who was not of royal race, and to have derived his claim to sovereignty from his mother, a princess called Aah-tabu.³ He married a wife, whose name was Nebu, and had by her three children, all of whom were daughters. The eldest received the name of her royal grandmother, and this name is found surrounded with the cartouche, but the crown descended in the line of the third daughter, Kama, whose son Nefer-hotep appears in the Turin Papyrus as the immediate successor of Sabak-hotep IV. The genealogical tree of this family may be drawn out as follows:—



¹ Denkmüller, pt. II, pl. 181 c. ² Brugsch, *Histoire d'Égypte*, pp. 130, 131.
³ Brugsch, p. 132, Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 74. ⁴ Ibid. p. 132.

More than a common interest attaches to Nefer-hotep, . He bore the throne-name of Shes-ese-sa-ra, , and has left various monuments, principally in Upper Egypt. One of these is a tablet to Khem and Knept, bearing the figures of those gods, which he set up in the island of Koussou¹. Another, from the same locality, represents Khem, Mentu, and San;² while a third, in the island of Schol near Philæ, represents the



Nefer-hotep receiving life from Anuka.


monarch himself receiving 'life' as a gift from the goddess Anka or Anuka³. He also set up an inscription at


¹ *Dendakier*, pt. ii. pl. 161 f.

² *Ibid.*, pl. 161 g.

³ *Ibid.*, pl. 161 h.

Assuan,¹ on which he commemorated the members of his family.

Sabak-hotep V, who succeeded his brother Sakhthor, and took the throne-name of Sha-uefer-ra, ••, left an inscription in the island of Argo near Dongola, and set up his statue at Babastis in the Delta,² thus showing that he held possession of the whole valley of the Nile from the borders of Ethiopia to the Mediterranean. He was followed after a short interval by Sabak-hotep VI, who reigned as Sha-ankh-ra, and dedicated a memorial to the god Khem at Abydos, which is now in the Museum of Leyden.³

The immediate successor of Sabak-hotep VI was another king of the same name, distinguished by the additional designation of Sha-hotep-ra, ••. This is the last monarch of the dynasty who bore the favourite designation. He reigned, according to the Turin papyrus, somewhat less than five years, and after his decease the crown seems to have passed to a different family.

It may have been about this time, when the dynasty had held the throne for one or two centuries, that pressure began upon the eastern frontier. A nomadic race, whose proper habitat was Syria or North-Western Arabia, increased rapidly in power and population on this side of Egypt, and, assuming an aggressive attitude, threatened to effect a lodgment in the more eastern portion of the Delta. Already, for a considerable period, there had been on this side an influx of Asiatic immigrants chiefly of Semitic origin, Egypt offering a ready asylum to discontented or needy

¹ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 74.
Brugsch, *op. cit.*, p. 161 n.

² Brugsch, *History of Egypt* vol. i. p. 192, 1st ed.
³ *Ibid.*

fugitives, who saw in the great monarchy of the South a sort of 'fairyland of wealth, culture, and wisdom.'¹ The immigration of Jacob's sons with their extensive households² is but a single instance of what was perpetually occurring in this quarter. We have already noticed³ another example in the arrival of the thirty-seven Amu welcomed by Khnum-hotep in the sixth year of Usurtasen II. So numerous were the immigrants that Semitic names obtained a place in the geographic nomenclature of this part of the country,⁴ and a certain number of Semitic words even crept into the Egyptian language.⁵ The Senate deities also secured a certain amount of recognition from the Egyptian hierarchy,⁶ who were never averse to an increase in the number of objects of worship, and gave as hospitable a reception to Beah, Asher-el, Anates, Resepa, and Kamin, when they knocked at the doors of the Pantheon, as the civil rulers did to the kinsmen of Joseph or to the Amu under Alamsa.⁷

The state of things thus existing was well calculated to facilitate a hostile occupation of the more eastern portions of the Delta. Already the population was half Asiatic, and prepared to submit itself readily to Asiatic rule. So long, however, as peace reigned at Thebes, and monarchs, acknowledged as such by the whole of Egypt, had it in their power to direct the entire force of the country against an invader, invasion was not likely to take place. The Amu of the East, whether

¹ Kautz, *History of the Old Testament*, vol. i. p. 2.

² FRANK Kautz, *History of the Old Testament*, vol. i. p. 240. DEAN FAYNE BOWEN, *Homage Lectures on Joseph*, pp. 77 et seqq.

³ BOWEN, p. 261.

⁴ As Magdol ('a tower'), whence the Greek Magdalen, Succoth ('forts'), Frimoth ('forts') &c.

⁵ BOWEN, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. pp. 210-11, 1st ed.

⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 212-13.

⁷ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 60.

Mentu, Kharnu, Khata, or Shasu, would have been powerless against a united Egypt, and their undisciplined forces would have dashed themselves in vain against the serried phalanx of the trained Egyptian troops. But when at Herbes pretender rose up against pretender, when disturbance followed disturbance, and scarcely any prince succeeded in maintaining even the semblance of authority for more than two or three years,¹ then the future of vital power at the heart of the nation was not slow in communicating itself to the extremities. Whether the first result was the revolt of the Western Delta, and the second the conquest by foreigners of the more eastern tracts, or whether the order of these two movements was inverted, and a foreign invasion produced a domestic revolt, there are no sufficient data to determine; but it would seem that, long before the feeble and indolent princes of the thirteenth dynasty had ceased to reign in Thebes, the Western Delta had become independent under a line of native princes who held their court at Xois,² and the Eastern Delta had been occupied by invaders of nomadic habits and probably of Semitic race. At Xois we are told that there were seventy-six kings in a hundred and eighty-four years,³ which would imply a state of continual disturbance in that locality. Towards the East two Shepherd dynasties bore rule, Manetho's fifteenth and sixteenth, either contemporaneously in two adjacent kingdoms, or consecutively over the whole Eastern Delta. But the main seat of empire was still

¹ See the list of kings in Brugsch *History of Egypt* vol. i. p. 126, and also the Manetho list. As the twenty-ninth king of the dynasty no monarch is said to have reigned more

than three years and a month or two.

² See also in the *Manetho of Herodotus* vol. i. p. 301.

³ Manetho ap. Syncell. *Chronograph.* vol. i. p. 61, A.

supposed to be Thebes. It was not till a fresh movement took place among the tribes upon the eastern frontier, and a fresh invasion was made in force, that the Old Empire was regarded as destroyed, and a foreign people as established in possession of the entire country.

CHAPTER XIX

THE MIDDLE EMPIRE.—CONQUEST OF EGYPT BY THE
HYKSOS.

Decline of the Hyksos Conquest—*Growing Power of the Tribes to the East of the Delta—the Sukta—the Kharn—the Sheta*. *Longer dominion offered by Egypt to the Hyksos*. *First Campaigns effected in her Territory*. *Consequent Excitement among the Eastern Tribes*. *Question of the Validity of the Hyksos Circumstances of the Conquest*. *Character of the Hyksos Rule*. *Advantages which it conferred on Egypt*. *Reign of the Hyksos King*. *America's Quarrel with the Sakkas*. *His capture and death in the Invasion of the Hyksos*. *Rejoined Synchismus of Joseph with Egypt*.

Διὰ τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτῶν Μιδυαὶ εὐχάρων καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἰερουσαλὴμ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἦν ἡ ἐμπόρευσις Ἀφρικανικῶν ἐμπορευμάτων. *Manetho of Egypt, Chronographi vol. i. p. 61, 6.*

THE conquest of Egypt by an alien people, who continued to be the dominant power in the country for more than two centuries, was asserted by Manetho in the most positive terms,¹ and, though long undoubted by modern critics,² has become through recent discovery an acknowledged fact. The Middle Empire of Manetho—a time of humiliation for the Egyptians, a time of stagnation, barren of art, barren of literature, barren of monuments—as at the present day admitted on all hands,³ and controversy is shifted to the questions of

¹ Ap. Syncell. *Chronographi* vol. i. p. 61, 6. Joseph. *Antiq. Apoc.* i. 14.

² See Harrison, *Egypt's Place*, vol. ii. pp. 416-18.

³ Borch, *Around Egypt*, pp. 74

77. Lenormant, *Manetho d'Hydrunt*, *Inscriptions* vol. i. pp. 254-55. Harrison, *Egypt's Place*, vol. ii. pp. 424

101. W. Flinders Petrie, *The Hyksos*, vol. ii. pp. 350-2. Borch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. pp. 227.

the nationality of the conquerors, the true character of their domination, and the real length of the time that it lasted. Two native documents, one on stone, the other on papyrus,¹ have proved beyond a question the fact of the foreign rule; two names of the alien rulers have been recovered from the inscriptions of the country, and though a deep obscurity still rests upon the period, upon the persons of the conquerors and the circumstances of the conquest—an obscurity which we can scarcely hope to see dispelled—yet 'the Middle Empire' has at any rate now taken its place in history as a definite reality requiring consideration, inquiry, and, so far as is possible, description.

It would seem that a dark cloud had long lain along the north-eastern frontier of Egypt, in that tortuously bound tract which joins Africa to Asia, where alone the head of Mizraim was readily assailable,² and where it was impossible to block against a determined enemy. On this side Egypt had had her first wars. To gain and add the material treasures of the Syrian peninsula, it had been necessary to reduce to subject on its existing occupants, and so far back as the time of Senefertu,³ the natives of these parts, called by the Egyptians sometimes Anu, sometimes Pet, sometimes Mentu, had been attacked by the arms of the Pharaohs,



40, Col. ed., *Street Poems in Contemporary Pictorial Review* for February 1870, pp. 470-81, &c.

¹ The one on stone is the inscription of Amenemhat which exists in a rock-chamber at (El-Kamb El-Mahdiya), and which has been published in extent by Lepsius (*Denkmäler* pt. ii. pl. 11) and translated by M. Le Page Rönard and others. (*Annuaire de la Bibl.* vol. vi. pp. 7-10; *Brugsch History of Egypt* vol. i. pp. 245-6, 1st ed., 186

Bouffé, in the *Mémoires de l'Institut* Paris, 1861, vol. ix., &c.) The document on papyrus forms the first fragment of what is known as 'First Saïah's Papyrus.' It is given in the fifth volume of *Revue Egypt.* p. 736, and has been translated by Dr. Lammington in the *Records of the Past*, vol. viii. pp. 3-4.

² See above, vol. i. p. 24.

³ See above p. 48.

despoiled of territory, and forced to make acknowledgment of subjection. At this early date the Asiaties were few and weak, and the Egyptians experienced no difficulty in maintaining their authority over the Sinaitic region and the line of road which led to it. But by the time of the twelfth dynasty population had greatly increased in these parts, and we have found ¹ Amenem-hat I. compelled to build a 'wall' or fortress upon his north-eastern frontier, for the purpose of 'keeping off the Sakti, who had, previously to his reign, occupied the tract directly to the east of the Delta. Subsequently two other races are noticed as making their appearance in the same quarter. These are the Khuru or Khudu, a maritime and commercial people, who seem to have made their way along the coast from Puntstia, or perhaps from even further north, and the Shasu, a nation of nomads, whose main habitation was the tract directly south and south-east of the Dead Sea. The word Khuru, , is perhaps connected with the Hebrew 'Cherethim,' but the ethnographic application is wider, and the Khuru may be best regarded as the Syrians generally,² or the inhabitants of the maritime tract extending from the mouth of the Orontes to Lake Serbonis. The Shasu, , were most likely Arabs, and corresponded to the modern Bedouins of this region,³ they are especially connected with Atumna or Edom,⁴ and appear to have roamed over the whole of the desert region between Palestine on the one hand and Egypt upon the other,

¹ *Supra*, p. 144.

² See Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 221 1st ed.; Kirchhoff, *Records of the Past* vol. viii. p. 46.

³ See above, vol. i. p. 111.

⁴ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. pp. 215-16, 1st ed.

which at this time was far more productive than at present, and could support a considerable population.

Between the Kharru and the Egyptians there had long been commercial dealings,¹ and thus Asiatic people had come to be well acquainted with the productiveness of Egypt and the accumulated wealth of the Egyptians, which was such as naturally to provoke the cupidity of their less fortunate neighbors. The Shasu, and the other Asiatic tribes, who were in close contact with the Kharru, and probably allied to them in blood, though differing in manner of life, would learn from these last what a variety of tempting treasures was stored up in the Egyptian palaces and temples, what countless flocks and herds cropped the rich pastures of the Delta and of the valley of the Nile, what delicate fare constituted the ordinary diet of the inhabitants, what magnificence of apparel and furniture was to be seen in their dwellings. Egypt had for centuries exercised a fascination upon the Asiatic mind, and, as we have seen,² had attracted to herself a continual flow of immigrants, who hoped, by adopting the Egyptian mode of life, to participate in the wealth and the luxury of the old inhabitants. The feeling which led individuals and households to quit their homes, renounce their countries, and throw in their lot with the sons of Mizraim, must have been shared in some degree by whole tribes and nations, who could not expect to be welcomed if they presented themselves *en masse* at the frontier towns, or to obtain a lodgment within Egyptian territory otherwise than by force of arms. Two such lodgments, as observed in the last chapter,³ seem to have been effected while the war-

¹ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. 1, pp. 221 & 1st ed.

² *Supra*, pp. 180-1

³ *Supra*, p. 182

teenth dynasty still occupied the Theban throne—at least this appears to us the most probable account that can be given of Manetho's first and second Shepherd dynasties—but the great invasion did not arrive till later. The great invasion, which resulted in a conquest of the entire country, is connected with a certain Sutes, or Set, who belongs to a dynasty the last king of which was Apophis, a monarch whose reign almost immediately preceded that of Aithmes, the first king of the New Empire. It is impossible that two dynasties of shepherds can have followed after Apophis. We must therefore either place these dynasties in the troubled time which preceded the great invasion, or look upon them as wholly fictitious.

If some small nomadic tribes had succeeded in establishing themselves in independence within the limits of Egypt Proper, either in the Sethroite nome, or further to the south, in the vicinity of the Bitter Lakes or of Lake Timsah, a great encouragement would have been given to the other races of the neighbourhood, who had hitherto looked upon Egypt as invulnerable, and, however their cupidity may have urged them, had been prevented by their fears from venturing upon an attack. Desires long repressed would have had the rein given them, and would have blossomed into hope—a vague feeling of expectation would have been awakened among the tribes; a willingness to condescend, a tendency towards union, would have shown itself, and, when any powerful tribe put itself forward and assumed the lead, there would naturally have been a wide-spread inclination to support the bold adventurer, and rally to a standard which was regarded as about to conduct to victory, plunder, and happiness. Something like a confederacy would have been readily

formed, and a force would thus have been gathered which no single nation of these parts could have raised, and with which the full power of Egypt might have found a difficulty in contending, if the circumstances had been such as to allow of her full power being put forth to meet the danger.

But, as we have already seen, this was not the case. Egypt had suffered disintegration. Two native dynasties were maintaining themselves in different parts of the territory, one at Thebes, the other in the Delta. One foreign kingdom, if not two, had been set up within her borders. These kingdoms were hostile to each other, and, it is probable, were continually at war. Moreover, at Thebes certainly, and most likely at Xoïs also,¹ the state of affairs was unsettled—tumult, disturbance, civil war, open murder, secret assassination prevailed. A prey to internal disorders, Egypt invited attack from without, seeming to offer herself as a ready prey to the first comer, if only he had at his command a military force of fair quality and tolerably numerous.

That an attack came, and a conquest was made, from the tract which joins Africa to Asia, is certain, but it is not easy to determine who were the real invaders. Manetho appears to have made two conflicting statements upon the subject: he represented the invaders as Phœnicians,² and he represented them as Arabs.³ The Egyptians of the time of Herodotus

¹ Manetho says that at Xoïs there were seventy-six kings in rather 484 or 184 years. Even if we take the latter of these numbers, it gives it to mean more six years as the average of the long reigns. And there is no reason for 184 than 484, which would require the average to two years and a half.

² *Histor. de Success. Aegypt. Synod. Chronograph.* p. 11. 01. 21.

³ Manetho ap. Joseph. *Conte. Apocryph.* 1. 4. It must be admitted that this statement is qualified by the clause *et de Arabibus*. But it is the only suggestion of nationality reported by Josephus.

seem to have considered that they were Philistines.¹ Moderns have regarded them as Canaanites, Syrians, Hittites.² It is an avoidance, rather than a solution, of the difficulty, to say that they were 'a collection of all the nomad hordes of Arabia and Syria,'³ since there must have been a directing hand; some one tribe must have taken the lead, and have furnished the commander. Some have thought that the word 'Hyksos,' which comes to us from Manetho, was the best clue to the puzzle, and, expanding that word as 'Sheep-kings,' have settled it that the conquerors were Arabs.⁴ But Manetho himself seems to have understood by 'Hyksos, not 'Arab-kings,' but 'Shepherd kings,'⁵ so that the term did not to him contain the idea of nationality. And the term itself is not found upon the monuments. Phœnicians, in the strict sense of the word, are scarcely to be thought of, since they were at no time 'shepherds,' and it is scarcely probable that they had as yet effected their migration from the Persian Gulf to the shores of the Mediterranean.⁶ The invaders may well have been 'Syrians,' in a large sense of that word, and may have come from Palestine, or even from the region north of it. They may have belonged to the Canaanite portion of the Syrian popu-

¹ Herod. ii. 128. The 'shepherd Phœnicians to whom the Egyptians ascribed the Hyksos,' who Herodotus visited there, must have been the individualisation of a belief that Egypt had been ruled by Philistine shepherds.

² See Dissen, *Egypt's Place*, vol. ii. p. 421. Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 245, 2d ed.; Lepsius, *Monum. d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. pp. 400-2.

³ 'C'était un ramasseau de toutes les hordes nomades de l'Arabie et

de la Syrie.' (Lepsius, *Monum. d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i. p. 391.)

⁴ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 76.

⁵ Ap. Joseph Contr. quon. l. vi. c. 2. τοὺς ποιμαίνοντας τὰς προβάτους ἐν τῇ ἐσχατῇ Βαβυλωνίᾳ. There is no evidence that Manetho knew anything of the Semitic or in any way connected the Hyksos with them.

⁶ See the author's 'Essay on the Early Migrations of the Phœnicians,' in his *Herodotus*, vol. iv. pp. 230-244, 3rd ed.

lation, and have been called 'Phœnicians' by Manetho from that confusion between the two words which naturally followed from the Phœnician power succeeding the Canaanite in the same tract of country.¹ Among the Canaanite nations the most powerful was that of the Kheta or Hittites; and, on the whole, there seem to be better grounds for regarding the invaders of Egypt at this time as predominantly Hittite than for identifying them with any other special tribe or people. Set, the leader of the invasion, bore a name identical with that of the god chiefly worshipped by the Hittites,² and the exclusive worship of this god is noted in the Saiter papyrus as one of the principal results of the Shepherd rule.³ The Hittites were a really powerful people, as appears by their after struggles, both with the Egyptians and the Assyrians, and would so be more capable of measuring their strength against that of the Egyptians, and for a time obtaining the upper hand, than any other of Egypt's neighbours. A Babylonian conquest is scarcely conceivable at this early date, and is precluded alike by the names of the Shepherd kings and the peculiarities of their worship.⁴

On the whole, therefore, we lean to the belief that the so-called Hyksos or 'Shepherds' were Hittites, who, pressed for room in Syria, or perhaps merely excited by a desire of conquest, moved southward, and, obtaining allies from the countries along their line of route, burst like an avalanche upon Egypt. The reduction of the country was, according to Manetho,

¹ See the author's *Herodotus*, vol. iv. pp. 228-40.

² On the Hittite worship of Set or Sutech, see *Records of the Past*, vol. i. pp. 31-2.

³ *Ibid.* vol. viii. p. 2.

⁴ The names Set (Sutech), Huan, Pachman, or Anachnan, Huan, Arclion, Apepi have nothing Babylonian abt. (than Set or Sutech has no representative in the Babylonian Pantheon.

effected with the greatest ease. ‘Men of ignoble race,’ he says, ‘coming from the eastern regions unexpectedly, had the courage to invade Egypt, and conquered it easily without a battle.’¹ They took Memphis, built themselves a city in the Sethroite nome, and established a great fortified camp on the eastern frontier, which they called Auaris or Avaris, and occupied with a permanent garrison of 240,000 men.² It is not to be supposed that really no resistance was offered to the invaders by the Theban and Xente kings of the time; but it was readily overcome: no great battle was fought; and in a comparatively short space of time the country was subjugated, and accepted the foreign yoke. Wherever the Hyksos penetrated, they spread ruin and desolation around, massacred the adult male population, reduced the women and children to slavery, burnt the cities, and demolished the temples.³ But they do not appear to have cared permanently to occupy the Nile valley much beyond Memphis. After subjugating the whole of Egypt, they allowed the Theban kings to exercise a qualified sovereignty over the upper part of the Nilotic region, establishing their own court at Memphis, and from thence ruling Middle and Lower Egypt at their discretion.

The character of their rule was at the first barbaric and cruel. Professors of a religion which was monotheistic, or nearly so, the conquerors took an extreme aversion to the Egyptian polytheism, and vented their hatred by an indiscriminate destruction of all the

¹ Παρά τινες ἐκ τῶν καὶ ἀντολήν
μνησθ. Ἀθηναῖοι το γέννη ἄνηκον,
καταθρονοῦσάντες αὐτὸν τῆν κροῖαν
ἐστρωμένον, καὶ ῥῥῖον ἀμαχητὶ
ταύτην ἀπὸ λαῖναι εἰλόν. (Μακρ. 15)
cp. Joseph. Contr. Apion. 1. 14.)

² Ibid.

³ Πάντες τοὶ ἱερεῖς, οὐκ ἐχθροὶ τῶν
καὶ ἐχθροὶ, τῶν καὶ ἀφ᾽ ἑαυτῶν
τῶν δὲ καὶ τὰ τέσσα καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντες
οὐκ ἀπολείπον ἰδρύοντες. Τὸ πᾶν
ὡρῶν ἐνέπρησαν, καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ τῶν θεῶν
κατέστανον. (Ib.)

Egyptian temples, which, according to Manetho, they absolutely 'razed to the ground.'¹ Considering how closely connected were the priests with the history and literature of Egypt, which had from the first been chiefly in their hands, we must conclude that this general demolition of edifices was accompanied by an almost complete destruction of the records of the country, which, except in the inscriptions of unopened tombs, and in papyri buried in tombs, suffered at the hands of the Hyksos something like obliteration.² Thebes, it may be, retained its monuments; but these dated only from the time of the eleventh dynasty.³ Elsewhere the flood of conquest engulfed the early literature of the country; the old civilisation was, as it were, 'annihilated,'⁴ and a blank was produced which the clever *litterateurs* of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties found it impossible, excepting by the free employment of conjecture and invention, to fill.

But this purely destructive time was followed by one of reaction, and to some extent of reconstruction. The 'Factors of the South,' after a certain term of years, during which they devastated Egypt from the Mediterranean to Thebes, or perhaps to Elephantine, suffered themselves by degrees to be subjected by the superior civilisation of those whom they had conquered,¹

* See law preceding note, and especially the emphatic word *merchandise*.

1. *Die erste* ... *die zweite* ... *die dritte* ...
 2. *Die vierte* ... *die fünfte* ... *die sechste* ...
 3. *Die siebte* ... *die achte* ... *die neunte* ...
 4. *Die zehnte* ... *die elfte* ... *die zwölfte* ...
 5. *Die dreizehnte* ... *die vierzehnte* ... *die fünfzehnte* ...
 6. *Die sechzehnte* ... *die siebenzehnte* ... *die achtzehnte* ...
 7. *Die neunzehnte* ... *die zwanzigste* ... *die einundzwanzigste* ...
 8. *Die zweiundzwanzigste* ... *die dreiundzwanzigste* ... *die vierundzwanzigste* ...
 9. *Die fünfundzwanzigste* ... *die sechsundzwanzigste* ... *die siebenundzwanzigste* ...
 10. *Die achtundzwanzigste* ... *die neunundzwanzigste* ... *die hundertste* ...

Phrygia, + *Monks of the Monastery of*
+ *the Monks of the Monastery of*

* see above, p. 127

• *Journal of the American Medical Association*, p. 1231.

1. Неразрешимая проблема Поста
Вопрос о том, можно ли построить машину, которая сможет решать любую задачу, разрешимую на машине Тьюринга, является одной из самых важных проблем в информатике.

and adopted their art, their official language, their titles, and the general arrangement of their court ceremonial. In Thebes especially temples were built and sculptures set up under the Shepherd kings differing little in their general character from those of the purely Egyptian period.¹ The foreign kings erected their own obelisks at this site, which were sculptured by native artists according to the customary rules of Egyptian pyramidal art, and only differ from those of the earlier native monarchs in the head-dress, the expression of the countenance, and a peculiar arrangement of the beard.² They built stone temples on the Egyptian model at Thebes and Avaris, wherein they worshipped Set-Nubti, or 'Set the Good,' in the place of Ammon or Ptahuti, bringing the materials for their constructions from Assuan or Syene,³ and only slightly modifying established Egyptian forms, as by adding wings to the Sphinx. They lived on amicable terms with the contemporary Theban dynasty of subordinate kings, allowed their worship of Ammon-Ra,⁴ and held intercourse with them by frequent embassies.

There are even certain respects in which the Shepherd monarchs appear to have been in advance of the people whom they conquered, so that 'the Egyptians were indebted to the stay of the foreigners' in their country, 'and to their social intercourse with them, for much useful knowledge.'⁵ The Shepherds had the conception of an era, and introduced into Egypt the practice of dating events from a certain fixed point, apparently the first regnal year of the first king, Set or

¹ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. pp. 230-7, 1st ed.

² See Lepsius, *Denkmäler der Pharaonenzeit*, p. 11, and plate.

³ This appears from the remains, which are of Senusert's reign (ibid.).

⁴ *Records of the Past*, vol. vii. p. 1.

⁵ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 237, 1st ed.

Saïtes,¹ a practice which, had it been generally adopted, would have cleared Egyptian chronology from that uncertainty and confusion which are now its acknowledged characteristics. They 'enlarged the horizon of the Egyptian artistic views'² by the introduction of new forms and of greater realisation in glyptic art; and they are even thought to have affected for good the language and literature of the country.³ The language was to a considerable extent Semitised, and an impulse was given to literature which resulted in a vastly increased activity and prolificness. Again, the Saïtes seem to have possessed a power of governmental organisation not uniformly displayed by barbaric conquerors, as by the Mongols in India and the Turks in Europe. They established throughout the territory a uniform system for military and revenue purposes, and did much to crush out that spirit of isolation and provincialism which had hitherto been the bane of Egypt,⁴ and had prevented its coalescing firmly into a settled homogeneous monarchy. The monarchs of the eighteenth dynasty inherited from them a united and centralised Egypt, accustomed to be directed by a single head from a single fixed centre.⁵ This is the blow by which the power of Egypt had seemed to be shattered and prostrated, worked ultimately for its advancement, and the Hyksos domination may be said to have produced the germs of the Later Empire.

¹ *Records of the Past*, vol. ix. p. 76. *Howe's Egypt's Place*, x. c. x. p. 74. *Bevan's Egypt and Syria*, p. 76 and 126.)

² *Bevan's Egypt*, p. 76.

³ Stuart Paine in the *Contemporary Review* for February 1870, pp. 540-1.

⁴ See above, p. 102.

⁵ The only exception to this was the Theban kingdom which continued a shakine, though subject, monarchy under the Hyksos; but this was the exact manner which expelled the Shasheide, all authority became at once fixed in a single centre.

Of the individual monarchs belonging to the Hyksos line we know but little. According to Manetho, Set or Sutes was not the original leader of the invasion, but a monarch whom the successful invaders placed at their head after they had overrun and conquered the entire territory.¹ He established himself at Memphis, placed garrisons in every city of importance, and fixed the tributes to be paid to him both by the Upper and the Lower country. The bulk of his troops he stationed in a city, or rather perhaps in a great fortified camp, on the eastern frontier, at Avaris, an old Egyptian town, which he rebuilt and strongly fortified. They amounted to nearly a quarter of a million of men, and were placed in this position for the purpose of repelling any attack which might be made upon the Hyksos kingdom by the Assyrians (?).² Set visited them every summer, with the object of renewing their supplies of grain, discharging their arrears of pay, and practising them in military exercises and manœuvres, calculated to inspire a wholesome fear among the neighbouring peoples. Set took the additional title of *Apehti*, $\overline{\text{ḳḳ}}$, "great and glorious," and seems also to have called himself Nubt,³ thus identifying himself with certain deities, as had been the practice of the previous Egyptian monarchs, who had called themselves Horus, Khem, or Kneph,⁴ and had been called by their wives Horus and Set.⁵

¹ A. J. French, *Conte Asiat.* i. 14.

² See also Manetho in Josephus.

It is certain that America's request was not at the time of a resolution to make expedition into Syria. *Annals of the American Republics*, vol. ii. pp. 43-44, 45-46; but the Assyrians of Manetho may perhaps represent the Egyptians who had made themselves felt in Syria and Palestine

long before this time. (See *Ann.* x. i. 12, and compare the account of Herodotus, vol. i. pp. 446-7, 3rd ed.)

³ Dautman, *Egypt's Place*, vol. i. pp. 7-15, *Records of the Past*, vol. iv. p. 75.

⁴ See above, pp. 41, 56, 61 and 65.

⁵ De Rouge, *Recherches*, p. 46.

Set reigned, we are told, for nineteen years,¹ and was succeeded by a monarch whose name is given in the different manuscripts under the three forms of An n, Baen, and Baou. Baou is the form generally preferred by scholars,² and, if accepted, may be compared with the Hebrew Ben an;³ but the monuments have not hitherto revealed the native form of the word, and, until or unless they do, speculation upon the subject is idle. Baou is said to have reigned either forty or forty-four years,⁴ and to have been succeeded by Phakhan, or Apachnas—a king of whom we are told absolutely nothing beyond the length of his reign, which is variously reported as sixty-one years and as thirty-six years and seven months.⁵

Josephus declares that Manetho placed Apopis or Apepi, **ⲁⲡⲉⲓⲱ**, immediately after Apachnas; but Africanus and the Armenian Eusebius are agreed that Apopis was in the Manethonian, but the last king of the dynasty; and as this arrangement accords with the monumental mention of Apepi hereafter to be noticed,⁶ it would seem best to follow Africanus, rather than Josephus, at this point. Africanus reported Manetho

¹ Joseph. l.c., Manetho ap. Syncell. *Chronograph.* vol. i. p. 61. n.

² *Monum. Egypt. Plac.* vol. i. p. 425. *Brugsch History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 229. *et al.* Lemaire, l.c. *weary*, prefers the reading Baou (*Manetho's History Antiquae*, vol. i. p. 172).

³ *Mon. Egypt.* 14.

⁴ Forty years according to Eusebius (op. Syncell. *Chronograph.* vol. i. p. 62. a); forty-four, according to Josephus (l.c.) and Africanus (op. Syncell. *Chronograph.* vol. i. p. 61. n).

⁵ The latter number, which is given by Josephus (l.c.), seems

preferable from its exactness, but is perhaps a trace of the *seventy*, which the text includes the period of *seventy*.


⁶ See below, p. 166. The name of Manetho himself certainly was not of the form made by Apachnas. It was called Manethon, the first king of the nineteenth dynasty in his sixth year. Unless I am wrong, we are permitted to say that Apachnas was not placed Apachnas by Manetho, so that he is not his messenger and is immediately before Apachnas.

us placing between Apries and Apophis two kings, Saitis and Archies, the former of whom reigned fifty, and the latter forty-nine years.¹ Josephus calls these kings Jatnas and Asis, and places them after Apries. Consequently, both their names and their position are to some extent doubtful; though, on the whole, the representations of Africanus, who had no purpose to serve, must be regarded as more worthy of credit than those of the Jewish historian.

It results from Meneho's numbers, as reported by Africanus, that the dynasty occupied the Egyptian throne for 284 years,² which gives the extraordinary average of forty-seven years to a reign, or, omitting the first king, the still more extraordinary one of fifty-three years! If we regard the numbers as in any sense historical, it seems necessary to suppose that each king, soon after he came to the throne, associated a successor, and that the regis are counted in each case from the date of the association.³ Supposing this to have been the case, the real average of the *sole* regis need not have been more than about twenty-seven years; nor need the real duration of the entire dynasty have much exceeded a hundred and sixty years.⁴

Apops, the last monarch of the line, having (it is probable) reigned in conjunction with Archies for some thirty or thirty-two years, became sole king at a

Ap. Syncell. <i>Chronograph.</i> vol. 1. p. 66.	the length of the sole regis would be not less than—	
Africanus himself gave this as the total length of the dynasty.		
And		Years
¹ As are the regis of the kings belonging to the twelfth dynasty in the Paris paper of Brugsch <i>Hist. d. Egypt.</i> vol. 1. p. 110, 1st ed.)	Saitis, Apries	12
	Archies	27
	Jatnas	21
	Asis	49
	Apops, Apophis	20
	Total	129
² It can be associated a son or daughter after he had reigned two years.	The entire duration would thus be 161 years.	

mature age. Unlike Set, who had made Memphis his capital and only visited Avaris occasionally,¹ Apopi held his court permanently at the last-named city,² and there received the homage and tribute which were offered to him by all the various districts both of the Upper and the Lower country. In Upper Egypt was established, with his consent and concurrence, a dynasty of native princes, who affected the family name of Tui, and the throne name of Ra-Sekenen, . Two princes thus designated, Ra-Sekenen I and Ra-Sekenen II, had already reigned at Thebes and been buried there in tombs which modern exploration has discovered somewhat recently.³ A third Ra-Sekenen had succeeded, whether immediately or after an interval is uncertain, and now occupied the position of tributary dynast at the southern capital.⁴ Apopi seems, for some cause or other, to have taken a dislike to his princely vassal, and to have resolved to pick a quarrel with him by preferring unreasonable demands. First of all he sent an embassy from his own court to that of the southern king, requiring him to relinquish the worship of all the Egyptian gods, excepting Amen-Ra, whom he probably identified with his own sole divinity, Set, or Sutech.⁵ This proposition was declined, as one with which it was impossible to comply; but the refusal was couched in such terms that umbrage could

¹ See above, p. 191.

² *Records of the Past*, vol. viii, p. 7.

³ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, pp. 45-7, note d.

⁴ W. Chabas has argued that the Ra-Sekenen or Tui prince with Apopi and then joined to the Sahur papyrus, was the first of the name (see *Contemporary Review* for Fe-

bruary 1870, p. 570); but I agree with Dr. Brugsch that it is better to regard him as Ra-Sekenen III.

⁵ That Setekh represented the sun in the Heliopolitan system appears from the terms of the treaty of peace concluded by the Heliopolites with Ramesses II. (see *Records of the Past*, vol. ix, p. 38, § b.)

scarcely be taken at it. Hereupon Apopi consulted with the most experienced of his advisers, and with their help constructed a second message, the exact purport of which is not quite clear. According to one translator,¹ it had reference to a 'well for cattle;' according to another,² it was a demand for the stoppage of a canal. The messenger who carried the message had orders to journey at his utmost speed, and boasts that he did not rest by day or by night till he had delivered it. Whatever the exact requirement was, it threw Ra-Sekenen into a state of extreme perplexity. He communicated the proposal to the principal men of his court—his mighty chiefs, his captains, and expert guides—but they had no advice to offer. 'They were all silent at once in great dismay, and knew not how to answer him good or ill.'³ Then Apopi sent, it would seem, a third message, but of the purport of this nothing can be said; for the manuscript containing the narrative here most provokingly breaks off in the middle of a sentence, and we are left to conjecture the sequel.

The sequel seems to have been war. Ra-Sekenen was not prepared to submit to whatever demands might be made upon him, and, when he proved intractable, compulsion was resorted to. The title of 'Ken,' which he assumed, signifies 'victorious,'⁴ and is thought to indicate that he maintained the struggle which Apopi had forced upon him with tolerable success. The warlike energy which had characterised the invaders

¹ Lushington in *Records of the Past*, vol. viii. p. 4. § R. Chabas takes the same view (*Les Pasteurs en Egypte*, p. 12).

² Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 241, 1st edit.

³ *Records of the Past*, vol. viii. p. 4, §§ 2-3.

⁴ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 245, 1st edit. *Reichs-Encyclopædie of Hieroglyphen in Deutscher Egypt*, vol. i. p. 414.

at the time when they made their original invasion, a century and a half, or two centuries earlier, had declined. Egypt had proved their Caput, and, now that a serious conflict had arisen between them and their subjects, it was found that they were no longer the terrible foe that common fame had represented them. It must have been during the reigns of Ita Sekenen III. and his successor, Kamies, whose rule was exceedingly brief,¹ that the grasp of the Shepherds upon Egypt was shaken off, and they were forced to quit their hold and withdraw towards the east, concentrating themselves in that fortified camp on the borders of the Syrian desert, which the providence of their first king, Sutee, had created for them. Driven out of Egypt Proper by a general uprising of the native inhabitants, at Avaris they turned to bay. They still numbered 240,000 men.² The Egyptians besieged them in Avaris with an army twice as numerous as theirs,³ and after a time their efforts were crowned with success. Avaris was assaulted both by land and water. Ships of war were launched upon the canals which conveyed the Nile water to its immediate neighbourhood,⁴ and all its gates were blockaded and watched. After numerous assaults the place fell. The captain Ammes, who was present at the capture, tells us the part that he took in the siege—how he ‘followed the king on foot when he (the king) went out on his chariot’—how, when siege was laid to the city, he ‘had to fight in the presence of his Majesty’—how at one time he ‘fought upon the canal of Patetku of Avaris, and carried off a band’—

¹ Breussch *History of Egypt*, vol. 14. But this number is suspicious
 1 pp. 247-269, his edit. for vol. v. manuscript.

² See Breussch, who professes to follow Manetho (*Conte. Apocryph.* 1, 1). ³ *Ibid.*
⁴ *Herodotus of the East*, vol. vi. p. 7.

he killed an enemy, and cut off his hand and carried it to camp as proof of his exploit—how a second time he did the same—how, at a third engagement, he made a prisoner, and ‘I brought him off through the water’—and how finally, at the actual taking of the town, he made prisoners of one man and three women, who were all given to him for slaves.¹ The narrator is so occupied with himself and his own adventures that he has no words to spare for any general account of the siege operations, or any connected narrative of the war. We gather incidentally from his autobiographical sketch that there was no capitulation, such as Meneptho spoke of;² no voluntary evacuation of the city by the Hyksos army—but that the place was taken by storm—and we can perceive that the beaten enemy drew off in the direction of Palestine, whither the Egyptians pursued them, and where after a time they captured a Hyksos city called Sharuham,³ probably the Sharrhen of the Hebrews.⁴ With this event the Hyksos war appears to have terminated, and Egypt, relieved for ever from this hated enemy, entered upon a career of progress, conquest, and glory.

It is stated by George the Syncellus, a writer whose extensive learning and entire honesty are unquestionable, that the synchronism of Joseph with Apepi, the last king of the only known Hyksos dynasty, was ‘acknowledged by all.’⁵ The best modern authorities accept this view, if not as clearly established, at any

¹ *Records of the Past*, vol. vi. pp.

7, 8.

² *Ap. Joseph. Contr. Apion.* l. c.

³ *Records of the Past*, vol. vi. p.

11, § 14.

⁴ *Josh.* xix. 4.

⁵ *Chronographia*, vol. i. p. 62, n.

Τὰς πρὸς ἀναρχίας τοῦ ἐν τῇ Ἀναρχίᾳ ἡγετῆς ἑωυτοῦ τοῦ Ἀπριόου Νεκρῶν ἡμετέρας ἐστὶν αἰ. (Christian chronographers (*Figures of Time*, vol. ii. p. 43-), but quite arbitrarily.

rate as in the highest degree probable,¹ and believe that it was Apepi who made the gifted Hebrew his prime minister, who taxed his father and his brethren to settle in Egypt with their households, and assigned to them the land of Goshen for their residence. The elevation of a foreigner, and a Semite, to so exalted an office is thought to be far more likely under Hyksos than under native Egyptian rule, the marriage with the daughter of the high priest of Heliopolis to be less surprising, and the Egyptian words and names connected with the history to point to this period.² If the view be allowed, a great additional interest will attach to Apepi himself, and great additional light will be thrown on the ultimate character of the Hyksos rule, which has been shown already to have been much modified and softened by contact with the old civilisation of the country.³

For the Pharaoh of Joseph is no rude and savage monarch, but a mild, civilised, and somewhat luxurious king. He holds a grand court in a city not named, has a number of cupbearers and confectioners,⁴ sits upon a throne⁵ or rides in a chariot,⁶ wears a ring on his hand, has vestures of fine linen and collars of gold to bestow on those whom he favours,⁷ uses the Egyptian language, and is in fact indistinguishable from a native Egyptian monarch. He does not oppress any of his subjects. On the contrary, he sustains them in a time of scarcity, when he has owned their landlord, takes

¹ *Blunt's Ancient Egypt* p. 70, *Leconte's Manners of the ancients* vol. 1 p. 363, *Bunsen's History of Egypt*, vol. 1 pp. 200-70, 1st ed.

² *Brugsch*, p. 205.

³ See above, p. 134.

⁴ *Gen.* xl. 2.

⁵ *Ib.* xl. 40.

⁶ *Ib.* vol. 43. This fact, and Joseph's "chariots and horsemen" (*Gen.* l. 11), are the only proofs that Joseph was not anterior to the Hyksos.

⁷ *Ib.* xl. 42.

a moderate rent,¹ is especially lenient to the priests,² and, when he receives the Israelites, even concedes to his subjects prejudice against '*shepherds*.'³ If he is by no hand descent one of the Hyksos, he has adopted all the ordinary habits and mode of life of the Egyptians; he is even, it would seem, tolerant of their religion. His toleration may perhaps be only within certain limits, but it extends apparently to the entire priestly order.

¹ Gen. xlviii. 25.

² Ib. xlviii. 22.



³ Ib. xlviii. 34.

CHAPTER XX


THE NEW EMPIRE EGYPT UNDER THE EIGHTEENTH
DYNASTY ABOUT B.C. 1600-1400)

Reign of Aahmes—his War with the Hyksos—his Expedition against the South—his Buildings—his Wife Nefer-tari-Aahmes—Reign of Amen-hotep I—Reign of Thothmes I—his Syrian Conquests—his Syrian and Mesopotamian War—his Monuments—Short Reign of Thothmes II—Assassination of Hatshep—her Buildings and other Monuments—her Fleet sails to Pont—her Association of Thothmes III and Death—Glorious Reign of Thothmes III—His Invasion of Asia—Encounters with whom he came into contact—the Khariu, the Lishi, the Khito, the Hutu, the Sahari—Reduction of Syria—Success in Mesopotamia—Elephant Hunts—Bodies carried off—Inscriptions set up by Thothmes III—His Buildings, Statues and Obelisks—His Employment of perfect Labour—Consistency of the Inscriptions under him—His Southern Wars—His supposed Maritime Empire—Summary of his Character—Reign of Amen-hotep II—His Wars and Buildings—Reign of Thothmes IV—His Temple to the Sphinx—His Wars—His Lion Hunts—Reign of Amen-hotep III—His Wife Tuya—Commencement of the Iron Age—His Wars—His Buildings and Statues—His Love of Field Sports—Personal Appearance and Character—Reign of Amen-hotep IV, or Khuenaten—His strange Physiognomy—His Establishment of the Aton Worship—His new Capital—His Wars—Reigns of Seti-nekht An and Tutankh-amen—Restoration of the Old Religion—Reign of Hui-an-hob—Close of the Dynasty.

**See summary table to p. 461. Appendix. Etc. &c. 1*

THE native Egyptian monarch who drove out the Hyksos, and became the founder of the eighteenth dynasty, bore the name of Aahmes, , which signifies 'child of the mason'.¹ He is thought to have been the son of Kames (k at kēpr-ra) and of his wife Aah-hotep, , whose coffin and mummy are

¹ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 273, 1st ed.

among the treasures of the museum of Boulaq¹ Ashmes took the throne name of Nebsephetern, , and reigned twenty five years more gloriously than any Egyptian monarch since Usertasen III. He probably inherited the great war, when he brought to a happy conclusion mainly by his own invincible energy, but in part by the courage and conduct of his generals.² It is especially to be noted, of his war, that it ~~was~~ carried on as much by water as by land, the first step towards success being the creation of a flotilla upon the Nile, which held the command of the river, and was used in the rapid and safe transport of troops to any part of the Nile valley where they were needed.³ At times, the king's namesake and favourite general, relates how he served on board one of these Nile vessels, and, descending the stream from Thebes, carried his master's arms into the Eastern Delta, and in a short time won back to his authority the entire region. As the vessels descended the river, the land force, now no more a mere infantry, but comprising certainly a body of trained chariots, and perhaps a certain amount of cavalry,⁴ occupied the river bank; and Ashmes from time to time had to quit his vessel and to march on foot beside the chariot of his sovereign. Memphis must have been captured⁵ before any attack

¹ Brugsch *History of Egypt* vol. I. pp. 252-3. 1st ed., *Lehrbuch der Aegyptischen Alterthümer*, vol. I. p. 260.

² See especially the inscription on the tomb of his officer, Anmery, son of Anmery (*Records of the Past*, vol. 41. pp. 7-9).

³ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 78.

⁴ That the Egyptians largely introduced the horse and chariot into Egypt is generally admitted. No

whenever evidence appears in the monuments to point to the employment of cavalry. The employment of horses in the war of Sheshonq is mentioned in *Records of the Past* vol. VI. p. 7. The use of cavalry at this time is uncertain.

⁵ This capture may have been the work of Rastehem III. There is no allusion to it in the inscription of Ashmes.

could have been made upon the city of the Shepherds — the strong and vast fortress of Avaris, situated at the furthest point to which the Nile waters reached, well fortified both by walls and moats, and defended by a garrison of nearly a quarter of a million of men.¹ A lake protected the city on one side, canals from the Nile guarded it in other quarters, while a solid rampart of baked, or perhaps merely of sun-dried brick, surrounded the whole, and rendered the position one of first-rate strength and security. However, after a siege of some considerable length, in the course of which there were several engagements,² the final assault appears to have been delivered with such success, that a panic seized the garrison, and they hastily fled from the place. The majority made their escape, and withdrew to Syria, but many were slain, and a considerable number taken prisoners. An captive appears to have been regarded as the property of the king, but it was a common practice to assign prisoners to those who captured them, and vast numbers of the 'Shepherd' race became in this way permanently fixed in Egypt, where they intermixed with the native inhabitants and modified to some extent their physical type.³

The war of Ashmes with the Shepherds lasted five years.⁴ It was no sooner concluded than he hastened to lead an expedition against the south, where the negro races had taken the offensive during the struggle between the Egyptians and their foreign conquerors, and apparently had re-established the independence

¹ *Sicron*, p. 201.

² *Records of the Past*, vol. vi.

Pp. 7-8.

³ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 80.

⁴ *Leontium's, Memoirs d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i. p. 165.

⁵ *Records of the Past*, vol. vi.

whereof they had been deprived by the marauds of the twelfth dynasty.¹ At first the Egyptian king carried all before him, and, regarding the country as reconquered, returned down the Nile to his capital; but ere long the tide of victory turned. A Nubian chief, called Teta-an, collected the dusky hordes under his banner, and retook the whole region of the south, carrying devastation along the Nile banks, destroying the temples of the Egyptian garrisons, and annihilating the Egyptian power. Ankhnes was forced to retrace his steps, and measure his strength against this new enemy. He engaged Teta-an twice, the Nubian being apparently each time the assailant. On the first occasion neither antagonist could claim a decisive success, but, on the second, Ankhnes was more fortunate. The retro army was defeated with great loss. Teta-an made prisoner, and Egyptian authority once more established over the tract between the First and the Second Cataract.²

It would appear that the struggle with Teta-an must have occupied a considerable time. At any rate, it was not until his twenty-second year that the Egyptian monarch, victorious on every side, and no longer apprehensive of attack, was able to turn his attention to domestic affairs, and commence the restoration of those public edifices which had suffered either from natural decay or from hostile attack during the last two or three centuries. Rock tablets in the quarries of Teura and Maesara of that year³ record the fact that Ankhnes at this time 'opened anew the rock

¹ *Records of the Past*, vol. vi. (Paris, *Les Past nées de l'Égypte*, p. 49.) pp. 8-10.

² Breghien, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 276, 1st ed. M. Chevreton considers Teta-an to be the name of a people rather than that of a chief.

³ See his *Inscriptions*, vol. i. pt. ii. pl. 312, and *opusc. Breghien, Inscriptions Égypt.* p. 243, and Breghien, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 276-7, 1st ed.

have 'followed the example of his predecessors, who, forced by the Hyksos to the south, had contracted marriages with the females of Ethiopian rulers.'¹ His queen was certainly regarded as a personage of im-




Head of Ankhnesneferibre.

portance. She was called 'the wife of the god Ammon,'² and enjoyed some high post connected with the worship

¹ Bk. i. c.

² Breghia, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 210. Wilkinson remarks

the expression used by Herodotus of Ankhnesneferibre (Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 365, 2nd ed.).

Pennishem, whose tombs have been found at Thebes.¹ He took to wife an Egyptian lady, named Ankhosop, , and had a son by her whom he called Thothmes,







Head of Amenophis I.





It thenceforth farther point reached in this direction had been situated in Southern Palestine, a city assigned to the tribe of Simeon by Joshua. Invaders from the lower Mesopotamian region² had from time to time made their appearance in the basal Syrian valleys and plains, and struck the waters of the Orontes and the Jordan,

¹ See the *Spekmauer*, vol. i. p. 10, 20.

² The word means 'Child of Thoth,' and is nearly equivalent to 'Child of the Moon,' since Thoth was a Moon-god (see vol. i. p. 260, 261).

³ A. S. Smith's *Chronograph*, vol. i. p. 7. Strictly speaking, it is the king who is given to a deity as regent. But Thoth was, as the second

   , the first prince of that celebrated line.⁴ According to Manetho,⁵ Amenophis I. reigned no more than thirteen years.

The reign of Thothmes I., who succeeded Amenophis, and took the further appellation of Ankhaphtara,    , derives its chief distinction from the fact that, at his period of four history, the Egyptians for the first time carried their arms deep into Asia, overrunning Syria, and even invading Mesopotamia, or the tract between the Tigris and the Euphrates.

king of the sixteenth dynasty, in at present Amenophis.

⁴ Egyptian hieroglyphs were first explained by the French savants in the fourteenth century. E. Chassinat and K. Sethe and K. Lepsius were the first. *Lehrbuch der Ägyptischen Sprache* (Leipzig, 1876). See the author's *Herodotus*, vol. i. pp. 447, 448, and out.

ravaged the open country, and even perhaps destroyed the towns. But Syria was hitherto almost an uncultivated region to the powerful people which, restoring its strength in the Nile valley, had remained content with its own natural limits and scarcely grasped at any conquests. A time was now come when this comparative quiescence and absence of ambition were about to cease. Provoked by the attack made upon her from the side of Asia, and stung by the wounds inflicted upon her pride and her prosperity by the Hyksos during the period of their rule, Egypt now set herself to retaliate, and for three centuries continued at intervals to pour her armies into the Eastern continent, and to carry fire and sword over the extensive and populous regions which lay between the Mediterranean and the Zagros mountain range. There is some uncertainty as to the extent of her conquests: but no reasonable doubt can be entertained that for a space of three hundred years Egypt was the most powerful and the most aggressive state that the world contained, and held a dominion that has no parallel to be called an 'Empire' as the Assyrian, the Babylonian, or the Persian. While Babylon, ruled by Arab conquerors,¹ declined in strength, and Assyria proper was merely struggling into independence, Egypt put forth her arm, and grasped the furthest regions of the earth's surface. Thus commenced that struggle for pre-eminence between north-eastern Africa and south-western Asia, which lasted for above a thousand years, and was scarcely terminated until Rome appeared upon the scene, and reduced both the rivals under her world-wide sway.

¹ *Ibid.* pp. 448-51.

The period of aggression upon Asia commenced with Thutmose I., but his Asiatic expedition was not his first



FIG. 2. THUTMOSE I.

enterprise. He began his military career by an invasion of the countries upon the Upper Nile, and contended in this region with the Ethiopians and Nubians, ascending the course of the river with a flotilla of ships, while his troops also, it is probable, marched along the banks, and not only directing the movements of his forces, but taking a personal part in the encounters. On one occasion we are told, 'his majesty be-

came more furious than a panther,'¹ and planting an arrow on the string directed it against the Nubian chief with so sure an aim, that it struck him and remained fixed in his knee, whereupon the chief 'fell fainting down before the royal chariot.'² He was at once seized and made a prisoner; his followers were dispersed—and he himself was carried off on board the royal ship to the Egyptian capital. This victory was the precursor of others everywhere—the Am of Nubia were bowed in pieces, and scattered all over their lands—and 'their stomach filled the valleys.'³ At last a general subjugation was made, and a large tract of territory was added. The Egyptian frontier was pushed on from

¹ See the *Records of the Past*, East vol. vi. p. 10.

vol. i. p. 10. * See vol. i. p. 10. * See vol. i. p. 10.

See the *Records of the Past*, East vol. vi. p. 10.

* See vol. i. p. 10, cited *Records of the*

Sennuch (lat. $21^{\circ} 50'$, to Tombos (lat. 10°); and a memorial was set up at this latter place,¹ to mark the existing extent of the empire southward. A new officer was appointed to govern the newly annexed country, who was called 'the ruler of Kush,' and appears to have resided at Sennuch.²

The expedition against the South was followed, after no long interval, by an invasion of Asia. To exact satisfaction from the races which had attacked Egypt, and for many years oppressed her, Thothmes marched an army through Palestine and Syria into Mesopotamia, engaged the natives of those regions in a long series of battles, and defeated them more than once with great slaughter. A single captian boasts that in the course of the expedition he 'took twenty-one hands,'³ or, in other words, killed twenty-one men, besides capturing a horse and a chariot. If one man could do so much, what must have been the amount of injury inflicted by the entire host! Egyptian annals, according to Manetho,⁴ were counted by hundreds of thousands; and even if for 'hundreds' we substitute 'tens,' the result must have been a carnage and a desolation sufficiently distressing. The use of the horse in war, which they had learned from their late conquerors,⁵ added greatly to their military efficiency and to their

¹ A representation of the memorial is given in the *Decouvertes*, vol. 5, p. 55, at p. 56, and a translation of the inscription would well be found in Brugsch's *History of Egypt*, vol. 1, p. 280, c. 14, ed.

² See Brugsch's *History of Egypt*, vol. 1, p. 284, c. 14, ed.

³ See *Records of the Past*, vol. 15, p. 7, par. 3.

⁴ Ap. Joseph. *Cont. Apion.* 1, 13, § 4.

⁵ That the Hittites introduced the horse into Egypt being asserted by M. Chabas (*Revue archéol. Egypte*, *Revue*, p. 415, in the general notice of Egypt, &c.). The complexity of horses in war by the Egyptians was not so the usage of Asia, as appears from the inscription of Ashmes, son of Amen, (*Records of the Past*, vol. viii, p. 7, par. 6.)

power of making distant campaigns. Though unskilful riders, and therefore averse to the employment of cavalry on any extensive scale,¹ they rapidly organised a strong force of chariots, which engaged with success the similar organisations of the Eastern nations, and manifested a decided superiority over them. We must suppose that the Egyptian mechanical skill carried to perfection in a short time the art of chariot-making, and that they combined agility with strength in their vehicles to a remarkable degree. The climate of Egypt seems also to have suited the horse in these early days; and so judicious were the Egyptian breeders that the natives of Judæa and Syria may, even the redoubted Hittites themselves, reported their horses and chariots from the valley of the Nile, and paid a price for them which implies high excellence.² It is creditable to the spirit and adaptability of the Egyptian people, that they should so immediately have surpassed their teachers, and have been able *at once* to carry to perfection a mode of warfare which was wholly new to them, while it had long been familiar to their antagonists.

When the king returned triumphant from his Asiatic campaign,³ with abundant booty and captives, he set up a tablet commemorative of his exploits,⁴ and, to show his gratitude to the divine power which had protected him and given him the victory, proceeded further to enlarge and embellish the temple of Ammon at Thebes, commenced by Amenemhat I. and




¹ On the employment of cavalry by the Egyptians, see a certain extent, see *M. Chabas' Études*, pp. 425-60, and compare above, vol. i. pp. 143-50.

² See 1 Kings i. 28, 29. 2 Sam. i. 31, 37.

³ Klaproth, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 205, 1st ed.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 200.

advanced by his son, Usutasen. The temple at this time consisted merely of the central cell, and a certain number of chambers, built at the sides, for the priests' use. Aahmes constructed the cloistered court in front of the central cell,¹ a building 240 feet long by sixty-two broad, surrounding it by a colonnade, of which the supports were Osiris pillars, or square piers with a colossal figure of Osiris in front. At either side of the grand portal, which gave entrance to this building, he reared a granite obelisk, seventy-five feet high, on which he commemorated his party and his worship of the gods of heaven.²

The reign of Thothmes I. appears to have been short,³ though Manetho assigned him a period of twenty-one years.⁴ He was married to a wife, Aahmes, who is thought to have been also his sister,⁵ and had by her a daughter called Hasheps⁶ or Hats-u, , and two sons, both of whom bore the same name as their father. At his death the elder of the two sons succeeded the throne, and ruled as Thothmes nefe-shan, taking also the additional epithet of Aakheper-en-ra, , or . He is known to moderns as Thothmes II., and had a reign which was brief and undistinguished. After one expedition against the Arabs of the more northern parts of the Sinaitic peninsula, undertaken for the purpose of striking terror into

¹ See above, vol. i. p. 227.

² For representations of these obelisks see Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, pp. vii. xxi. and Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. v. pt. i. p. 6.

³ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, 23.

⁴ Cp. Syncell. *Chronograph.* vol. i. p. 71.

⁵ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 200. 1st ed.

⁶ The reading Hasheps, or Hashepsut, seems a natural preference by Egyptologists. Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 84. Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. pp. 30, 4. 1st ed. Chabas, *Revue*, pp. 161, 70. &c. Professor Hamilton, however, still uses the form Hatsut. (See *Review of the Dead*, vol. 2. pp. 15, 16.)

those incorrigible mistake-makers,¹ he seems to have given himself up to a life of almost complete inactivity. His sister, Hatshep, appears to have acquired great influence over him, and to have been allowed to assume the royal title and take the leading part in the government. conjointly, the brother and sister made various additions to the great temple of Ammon at Thebes, while at the same time they busied them-



Head of Thutmose II.

selves with several other buildings of importance.² The remarkable temple at Medinet Abou, described in the first volume of the present work,³ is attributed to this period, and was the result of their combined exertions. Both the brother and the sister were devotees of Ammon, whom they identified with Khem,⁴ and worshipped as the source of life and Lord of Heaven. They also gave a prominent position to the household-godess,

¹ *Reverend the Past* vol. ix. p. 8.

² See above, vol. pp. 20*, 20.

³ *Reverend the Past* vol. ix. p. 8.

⁴ See *the Book of the Dead*, pt. i. pt. 17, 4, e.

Pasht or Sekhet, whom they compared with Ammon and Khonsu.¹

Hatsu is suspected of having cherished an extreme lust of power, and of having sacrificed to it affectors,



Head of Queen Hatsu.

and even deities. The early death of her brother is laid at her door,² and it is certain that after his decease she strove to obliterate his memory by erasing his name from the monuments, sometimes substituting her own name, or that of her father, in its place.³


¹ *Denkmaeler*, pt. iii. pls. 14 and 15.

² Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 212. 1st ed. Brugsch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 283) argues "Probably one of those revolting ex-pressions and

famely q-ueries of the queen is involved behind the act of her slaying and the "murdering" of Thothmes II. (Compare p. 40.)

³ See the *Denkmaeler*, pt. iii. pls. 15 and 21.

She appears to have been a woman of great energy, and of a masculine mind, clever, enterprising, and active, and unscrupulous. On the death of the second Thothmes, she took entire possession of the throne, changed her name from Hatshe to Hatshe K' nom Anamon, took the additional throne-name of Ra ma ka,

•• assumed male apparel and the style and title of a king, occupied the royal throne, and allowed her young brother, whom she suffered to live, no better place than a seat upon her footstool.¹ She is constantly represented upon the monuments in male attire, often crowned with the tall plumes of Ammon.² She calls herself 'the son of the sun,' 'the good god,' 'the lord of the two lands,' 'beloved of Anamon Ra, the god of *knpa*.' She is not, however, wholly consistent in this assumption of the masculine character. Sometimes her garb is that of a woman, her title 'lady,' and her epithet, 'beloved by Anamon,' has the feminine suffix.³ It may perhaps have been difficult for the sculptors always to bear in mind that the sex of the sovereign from whom they received their commission was to be concealed.

As soon as married, Hatshe pushed forward her labours with increased energy, and rapidly brought to completion various works of importance, which still

¹ *Recherches* pt. II. pl. 22 and 23.

² *Ibid.* p. 1. h. 29 &

³ Cf. *Recherches* *Études*, pp. 161, 2. 'On remarquera que ce titre affecté contre un motif de ne servir des titres masculins, s'il est appliqué le roi et non la reine, a été, au lieu du pronom personnel et possessif qui le représentent dans les textes, serait généralement du

féminin, ces prétendus masculins donnent lieu à ces *fautes* les trois singuliers, c'est-à-dire que, dans l'expression *le Majesté d'Anamon*, les termes *Sa Majesté* sont toujours masculins, et ils sont suivis du pronom féminin *elle-même*, anglais *His Majesty herself* rend bien compte de cette anomalie.'

truce in the earlier monuments. Five ships¹ at least, manned by thirty rowers each, and having on board besides a crew of some ten or twelve, together with a detachment of Egyptian troops,² proceeded from some port on the western coast of the Red Sea to the southern extremity of the gulf, and landed on the shores of Punt,³ the 'En-ner' or 'Holy Land'—the original seat of Athor and perhaps of Ammon—where a most friendly reception was accorded them. The expedition was not of a hostile, but of a purely pacific, character.⁴ A high official of the court accompanied the fleet as royal ambassador, and a profusion of presents for the chiefs of Punt were placed on board. The great object was to establish friendly relations, and secure both an immediate and also a continuous supply of the precious frankincense, which was consumed largely by the Egyptians in the worship of the gods, and was especially required at this time for the due honour of the great Ammon.⁵ The inhabitants were quite willing to barter their highly valued product for the manufactures and for the corn of Egypt. They were simple folk, living on stages built upon piles, in small cabins, which could be entered only by means of a ladder, generally built under the shadow of a grove of coccoloba palms, and in the immediate vicinity

¹ See Herodotus's *History*, vol. i. p. 1.

² The Egyptians were represented in the medals, and they are mentioned in the accompanying inscriptions, vol. i. col. 4; (see).

³ On the doubt as to the position of Punt see above, pp. 11-2. Dr. Dureau's conjecture, that the word was the name of the Phoenicians (Phoen. Punic) can scarcely be admitted.

⁴ It is unfortunate that the 'In-

roduction' to Dr. Dureau's translation of the legends accompanying the reliefs in the *Reliefs of the Fleet* (vol. i. p. 112) should speak of 'three ranges of land of the subterranean and mountainous of the land.' Punt as now called. Dr. Dureau himself gives no ground for these expressions.

⁵ *Reliefs of the Fleet* vol. i. p. 10. Dureau's *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 304, 1st ed.

of the incense-trees.¹ It was among the objects of the expedition to procure not only incense, but a certain number of the incense-bearing trees, which the Egyptians hoped to naturalise in their own country. At their request the natives set to work, and dug up as many as thirty-one of the trees, which they packed



Incense-tree in the Land of Punt.

with earth about their roots in baskets, and, having slung them on poles, so conveyed them to the ships, where they were placed upon the deck under awnings.² Large quantities of the incense itself were also collected, and packed in sacks tied at the mouth, which were piled on the decks in various places. At the same time other valuable products of the Hily Land were put on board, especially gold, silver, ivory, ebony, cassia, keld or stibium, opes, baboons, dogs, slaves, and leopard skins.³ A single tamed leopard or tigress seems to have been also embarked. Homage

¹ *Ann. Ann. Egypte*, 57, pl. 15.

² *Ibid.* pl. 2 and 3.

³ *Records of the Punt*, vol. 2, p.

14. Brugsen *History of Egypt*, vol. 1, p. 308, 1st ed.

was done to the Queen of Egypt by Parahu, the lord of the country, and his unshapen wife,¹ who thus admitted the suzerainty of the Pharaohs; but at the same time it was distinctly stipulated that the peace and freedom of the land of Iant should be respected.²

The return of the embassy with its wonderful and varied treasures was made a day of rejoicing at Thebes. Twelve Nile boats of the largest dimensions conveyed the wanderers in a grand procession to the capital.³ The whole population came out to meet them. A parade was made of the troops which had accompanied the expedition; the incense-trees, the strange animals, the many products of the distant country, were exhibited; the tame leopard, with his negro keeper followed the soldiers; natives of the remote regions, called Tannahu, who had voluntarily accompanied the expedition on its return, performed their war-dance.⁴

A bull was sacrificed to Ammon, and a new feast instituted.⁵ Finally, to perpetuate the great occasion, and prevent its fading away from human remembrance, the entire expedition was represented in an elaborate series of reliefs on the walls of Hatusu's new temple on the western side of Thebes, where they may still be seen, not very much injured by time, by the curious traveler at the present day.

After exercising the complete royal authority for the space of fifteen years, Hatusu found herself under the necessity of admitting her younger brother to a share in the kingdom, and allowed his name to appear

¹ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 84 and 5.

² *Galilee, Etudes*, p. 25.

³ Ibid. pp. 6 and 11.

⁴ Breasted, *History of Egypt*, vol.

⁵ *Records of the Past*, vol. x, p.

⁶ p. 20, 1st ed.

17, Breasted, *History of Egypt*.

⁷ Breasted, *Records of the Past*, vol. x, p. 312, 1st ed.

on public monuments in a secondary and subordinate position.¹ He had now probably reached the age of eighteen or twenty years; and his further exclusion from the throne would have been contrary to Egyptian ideas. He was therefore accepted into partnership; but this tardy recognition of his rights appears not to have contented him, and his subsequent conduct shows that he bore a deep grudge against his too jealous guardian. Actuated by a strong and selfish animosity, he erased her name from her monuments;² and it is simply from the circumstance of his agents not having cut deep enough that we are enabled to trace his sister's career without much difficulty. Whether he proceeded to greater lengths, and directed against her person the vengeance which it is clear that he wreaked upon her inscriptions, is uncertain. The joint rule of the brother and the sister appears not to have continued for above seven years,³ but 'whether Thothmes, after reaching manhood, drove his sister by force from the throne, or whether she slept in obscurity in the ordinary course of nature, we cannot tell, because the monuments are silent.'⁴ She was probably not more than about forty years of age at her decease.

The new king, Thothmes III., crowned at length after so long a minority, took the additional title of *Kefer-Khepru*—'the lord of beetles'⁵—to distinguish him from his father and brother, while at the same time he gave himself the throne-name of *Men khepru*,

¹ *Denkmäler*, pt. iii. pl. 28.

² *Ibid.* pl. 10.

³ Thothmes III. began to reign in the thirtieth year of his father's reign, which terminated his reign at fifty years. (*Brugsch, History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 314, 1st ed.) His son Amenhotep appears to have commenced

seven years afterwards in what we called his twenty-second year. (*Ibid.* p. 320.)

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 316.

⁵ On the sacred character of the scarabæus or beetle and its symbolism which connected it with the sun, see vol. i. pp. 345, 347, 411, &c.

as a further distinctive appellation. Thothmes has been called 'the Alexander of Egyptian history;' and though the associations that this epithet awakens transcend the facts of the case, and make the expression, in the judgment of sober criticism, seem exaggerated, yet still it places a striking fact in a striking light—Thothmes III. was beyond a doubt the greatest of Egyptian conquerors. Devoid, so far as appears, of any talent for organisation, as far as possible removed from the rank and position of an Alexander among persons gifted with rare administrative capacity, he had at any rate this in common with the great Macedonian, that he carried the arms of one continent into the very centre of another, overcame all hostile opposition, and brought one of the great kingdoms of Western Asia into at least a nominal submission. Considering the circumstances of the time, there is no doubt that his expeditions, and the success which attended them, imply high military talent; and though the general historian must decline to rank him with the really great conquerors that the world has produced—the Alexanders, the Cæsars, the Charlemagnes—yet it must be readily allowed, and asserted, that among Egyptian conquering kings he holds the first place. No later monarch ever exceeded his glories; Thothmes III. is the nearest historical approach to the ideal Sesostris,¹ the only Pharaoh who really penetrated with a hostile force deep into the heart of Assyria,² and forced the

¹ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 316, last ed.

² The name Sesostris no doubt comes from Sesostris, a Greek form of Iahsuth. The ideal figure was composed by uniting in one the actions of all the chief Egyptian conquerors. As the greatest of

them, Thothmes III. furnished the model figure.

³ Thothmes I. crossed the Euphrates into Mesopotamia and fought battles there, but returned no hold of the region. Thothmes III. seems to have conquered the entire tract as far as the Euphrates, and

great states of Western Asia to pay him tribute, if not even to acknowledge his suzerainty.

The independent public life of Thothmes (Menkhepr-ra) appears to have commenced with the year which he reckoned as his twenty-second. Hitherto he had remained in a subordinate position, under the tutelage, or at any rate the influence, of his sister.¹ Now he was sole monarch, either by her decease or her deposition, and had the uncontrolled direction of his own actions. The latent bent of his disposition at once displayed itself. He engaged in an aggressive war with the Asiatic nations. Starting from an Egyptian post called Gazu, or Zaku,² in the month named Phartouth, the eighth month of the Egyptian year, corresponding to our February, he invaded Palestine, with the object, as is distinctly stated, of 'extending the frontiers of Egypt by his victories.'³ On the fourth day of the next month, Pashons (March 21), the anniversary of his coronation and the first day of his twenty-third year, he arrived at Gaza, which was a strong city even at this early time, and was regarded as the key of Syria. Here, however, he met with no resistance, the ruler being friendly to him; and having rested his troops for the night, he marched out on the fifth, and proceeded by the coast route to Jaffa (Jammath), where he held a council of war to determine by what line the advance should continue. According to the intelligence brought in by his scouts,

to have left it to his successors, who held it so on to the time of Amenhotep IV. The later Egyptian monarchs made thence only Mesopotamia, but no permanent result followed from them.

¹ See also *ib.*, p. 225.

² Dr. Birch identifies Gazu with

the later Hama-son (Ancient Egypt, p. 87). But the identification is very uncertain.

³ See the description given by Brugsch (*History of Egypt*, vol. I, p. 220, 1st ed.) and also in the *Records of the Past*, vol. II, p. 38.

the enemy was collected in a position near the city of Megiddo, probably in the great plain of Esdraelon, the ordinary battle field of the Palestinian nations. They consisted of 'all the people dwelling between the river of Egypt on the one hand and the land of Nabaria (Mesopotamia) on the other,' the Khari (Syrians, and the Kati, being the principal'. At their head was the king of Kadesh, a great Hittite city on the Orontes'. The direct route to Megiddo, which passed by Ajlun and Taanach, was strongly guarded; but Thothmes insisted on proceeding by this route, instead of making a *detour* as wished by his captains. The event justified his audacity. Megiddo was reached within a week without loss or difficulty; and on the twenty-second of Pashons (April 7) the Egyptian king attacked and completely defeated his adversaries in a pitched battle, driving them in headlong flight from the position which they occupied, and forcing them to take refuge within the walls of the city. The Syrian camp was taken, together with vast treasures in silver and gold; and the son of the king of Kadesh fell into Thothmes' hands. Megiddo itself soon afterwards surrendered, as did the towns of Tinnam, Anagass, and Hurunkol or Herinokol. As many as 924 chariots and above 5,000 prisoners were captured; and much booty in the precious metals, as well as in flocks and herds, was carried off. Thothmes returned to Egypt in triumph, and held a prolonged festival to Ammon-Ra in Thebes, which he describes at great length in one of his inscriptions.^b

^a Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 321, 1st ed.

^b The exact date of this Kadesh is uncertain. Dr. Birch suggests that it occupied the position of the modern Hama, which is enclosed

between two branches of the Orontes. (See his *Ancient Egypt*, p. 116.)

^c *Records of the Past*, vol. ii. pp. 53-5.

The success of Thothmes in this, his first, campaign whetted his appetite for fresh conquests. Between his twenty-third and his twenty-ninth years, for which his own annals are lacking, he must have been engaged in three distinct expeditions, since he styles the campaign of the twenty-ninth year his fifth.¹ It appears from the tomb-inscription of his captain, Amen-em-het,² that one of these was in Southern Judea, or the Negeb, while in another Thothmes carried the Egyptian arms into Northern Syria, ravaged the country about Aleppo, threatened Carchemish, and even crossed the Euphrates into Upper Mesopotamia, whence he carried off a number of prisoners. It was probably at this time that he first came into contact with the Assyrians, who had recently made themselves independent of Babylon, and claimed at any rate the suzerainty over all Mesopotamia as far as the Euphrates. No actual collision between the troops of Egypt and Assyria, either at this time or at any later period of his reign, is recorded, but his advance to Carchemish and pretensions to conquests beyond the Euphrates must have provoked the jealousy of the Assyrian monarchs and caused alarm to be felt at the Assyrian capital. This was not now—as sometimes supposed—Nineveh, but Asshur (Kaleh-Sherghat). The Assyrian monarchs, till recently subject to Babylon, were not as yet very mighty princes; the great palaces of Nimrud, Koyunjik, and Khorsabad, which have attracted so much attention in these later times, were not built; Nineveh, if it existed, was a provincial town of small repute; the kings, engaged in constant wars with the great power of the South, found the maintenance of their

¹ *Records of the Past*, vol. ii. p. 21. ² Given by Heugle in his *Hérodote*, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. pp. 363-8, 1st ed. vol. i. p. 320, 1st ed.

independence a task which taxed their strength to the uttermost, and had effected as yet no very important conquests. The Egyptian monarch, in extending his attacks into the Mesopotamian region, encountered no very great danger, measured his strength against that of no very powerful kingdom. Still, in advancing beyond the Euphrates, he was carrying his arms into unknown regions, at the distance of six or seven hundred miles from his resources, and risking an encounter with the forces of an organised state such as did not exist in the long stretch of territory which lay between Egypt and the Great River.

It is advisable, before proceeding further with the warlike expeditions of Thothmes III., to glance briefly at the general condition of the countries lying intermediate between Egypt and the great Asiatic powers of the time, Assyria and Babylonia.

The strip of territory intervening between Egypt and Mounts Taurus and Amanus, bounded by the Mediterranean on the one hand, and the Euphrates and the syro-Arabian desert on the other, was in the time of Thothmes possessed by four principal nations.¹ These were, in the south, the Khala or Kharru, identified by Dr. Brugsch with the Phœnicians,² but more probably a Syrian people; in the central parts, the Hutu or Lutu (Lybians?); above them, towards the west, the Tuhia or Zuh; towards the Euphrates, the

¹ No doubt portions of the country were occupied by the very ancient races of the Euphrates, Akkadm, Zaurumim, and so on, thus mentioned in Scripture, but these forebode to appear in the inscriptions, and must have sunk into insignificance. The Amorites are sometimes mentioned as possessing

parts of the country north of Palestine, and the Ishmalim held the tract between the Dead Sea and the Gulf of Akabah. The name 'Chanan' also occurs, but the Hutu are the only Chananitish nation of the Egyptian records.

² *History of Egypt*, vol. i. pp. 231-4, 1st ed.

Khita, or Hitites. The country of the Khura extended along the coast from the boundary of Egypt to a place called Aup or Alpa, which seems to have been in Northern Palestine,¹ but which cannot be identified with any known site. It included within its borders the cities of Gazata or Gaza, Asokahna or Ascalon, Aahana (Aijon?), Starhana or Starabon, Makata or Megidlo, Tamarai, and Joann (perhaps Jamnia). Its inhabitants were addicted to mercantile pursuits, and carried on a brisk trade with the Egyptians in times of peace, being regarded by them as a respectable and civilised people. Their northern neighbours, the Ruten or Luten, held the valley of the Orontes and the coast tract as far as Aradus, among their towns were Kadesh, which seems to have been the capital, Aradus, Siniyra, Argatu (Aere?), Anaugas, Imnam, and Herinokol. They are represented as of a yellowish complexion, with Jewish features and black beards and hair. It does not appear that they were a very numerous people, but they possessed a civilisation of a tolerably high type, fought in chariots that were either painted or covered with plates of gold, used iron armour, had furniture of cedar-wood inlaid with ivory, and manufactured gold and silver vessels of elegant forms and delicately chased.² The country of the Tana, which reached from a little north of Aradus to the Taurus mountain-range, furnished corn and wine in vast abundance,³ as well as incense, balsam, honey, iron, lead, and various kinds of precious stones.⁴ Compared with the Kasru, Ruten, and Khita, the people

¹ *Brugsch's History of Egypt*, vol.

Egypt and compare the *Itinerary*, pt. i. pl. 19. c.

² p. 225, note 1.
See the frontispiece to the first volume of *Brugsch's History of*

³ *Records of the Past*, vol. ii. p. 21.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 21.

were unimportant. East of the Taurus and north-east of the Euphrates, reaching from the Antilibanus to the Euphrates, was the great nation of the Hittites, with their capital at Kanikunashu, or Carchemish, on the right bank of the great river. Their country is called in the inscriptions 'the great land of the Khita'.¹ Its chief cities, besides Canchemish, were Kharabu (Aleppo), Larranta, Kairika, Khissup, and Sarapannu.² The inhabitants were fully as civilised as their neighbours, and at the same time more warlike. They had possessed from a remote antiquity a form of picture-writing, which is found not only in their own proper country, but in various parts of Western Asia,³ from Cappadocia to the shores of the Ægean. In war the arm whereto the Khita mainly trusted was the chariot-force. Their chariots carried three each—two warriors and the charioteer.⁴ whereas the Egyptian chariots carried two only; and they could bring into the field as many as 2,500.⁵ Of all the Syrian nations, the Khita were the most powerful, and they maintained a separate national existence down to the time of the Sargons.

Across the Euphrates, the rolling plain at the foot of the high mountains—the Palæan Aram of Scripture—seems to have been known as Ninaran, or 'the land of the two rivers'; but the people appear to have been regarded by the Egyptians as Assyrians. There is no reason to believe that they were Assyrians in race; but it is not unlikely that, even at this early time, the Assyrian monarchs, who had thrown off the

¹ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. pp. 314, 342, &c., 1st ed.

² *Records of the Past*, vol. iv. p. 31.

³ As at Boghaz-keui, Fink, and Katalul on the old road between Ephesus and Sardis. (See a paper

by Mr A. H. Sayce, published in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* for July 1883.)

⁴ *Records of the Past*, vol. ii. p. 89.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 71.

yoke of Babylon, claimed a suzerainty over the upper Mesopotamian tribes, as Babylon did over those of the lower region. In reality, the tribes were Scythic, and belonged chiefly to the two races of the Nisari and Comukini; they possessed little internal organisation, and were unable to offer any serious or prolonged resistance to the forces of either Egypt or Assyria. Fluctuating between the two great powers for centuries, they were at length swallowed up by the nearer and stronger of the two, the Assyrians, who absorbed and assimilated them towards the middle of the ninth century before our era.¹

In his fifth campaign, which fell into his twenty-ninth year, Thothmes directed his attack against the coasts of the Syrian coast, took and spoiled Tunep, ravaged the Land of Zahi, cut down the fruit-trees, carried off the crops, and having laden his fleet with a variety of precious objects, sailed back to Egypt.² The next year he turned his arms against the more northern Ruten, took and plundered Hadesi, Simyra, and Aradus, emptied the magazines of their grain, and, to secure the permanent submission of the country, carried off as hostages a number of the young princes, whom he thenceforth retained in Egypt, requiring their relations to replace any who died by some other member of their family.³

A place called Hamsadu on the shores of the lake Nesruan was the chief object of attack in the ensuing year.⁴ It was captured without difficulty, and yielded

¹ As may be gathered from their tribal and personal names.

² See the author's *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. II. pp. 17-19.

³ *Records of the Past*, vol. II. pp.

21-2. *Herodotus History of Egypt*, vol. I. pp. 294-301.

⁴ *Records of the Past*, vol. II. p. 22, par. 4.

⁵ *Ibid.* par. 5.

a booty of 494 prisoners of war and thirteen chariots.¹ It is remarkable that exploits of apparently such little importance should have been placed on record by the Egyptians in connection with such particularity and exactness; but the fact seems to be that large populations did not exist in Syria at this period,² a vast number of petty chiefs divided the land among them, each ruling in his own small town or village, if confederations existed, they were of the loosest character, and it was seldom that even a temporary league united the forces of any large number of cities. Thus the wars of the Egyptians in Syria were carried on, in the main, not by great victories over numerous bodies of troops, but by a multitude of small successes and petty engagements, insignificant separately, but in the aggregate sufficient to produce the submission of the inhabitants.

Of all the campaigns of Thothmes, his eighth, that of his thirty-third year, was probably the most important. Starting from the country of the Hittites,³ he in this expedition directed his attack upon the Mesopotamian region, which he ravaged far and wide, conquering the towns, and reducing to a level plain the strong places of the miserable land of Nabaria,⁴ capturing thirty kings or chiefs, and erecting two tablets in the region to indicate its conquest.⁵ It is possible that he even crossed the Tigris into the Zab region, since he relates that on his return he passed through the town of Ni, or Nin, which some of

¹ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 381. 1st ed. vol. i. p. 381, 1st ed.

² Hittites were with teeth. The unimportance of not necessary to us in any ancient power with a large population in the part of Asia (see *ancient Egypt* p. 91.)

³ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*,

vol. i. p. 381. 1st ed.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Thus on the east bank of the Euphrates, at the point of passage, appears a tablet set up by his father Thothmes I. It is here near the city called Ni or Nin. (See *ancient Egypt*, vol. i. p. 34.)

the best modern authorities¹ identify with Nineveh. Tribute was certainly brought him about this time from the 'king of Asshur'² as well as from 'the prince of Senkari,'³ and the tribute included blue stone (lapis lazuli) from Babylon, and bitumen from Is or Hit.⁴ It is not to be supposed that either Assyria or Babylon was conquered, but a raid was made into the heart of Western Asia which spread terror on every side. Assyria was actually deprived of a portion of her territory; some of her cities were temporarily, others perhaps permanently, occupied;⁵ the king himself, in his distress of Asshur, was smitten with fear, and bought off the hostility of the invader by gifts which were regarded as a 'tribute,' and which were repeated year after year. Even at the distant Senkari, south of Babylon, alarm was felt, and an embassy was sent to propitiate the conqueror by a present.

A curious episode of this expedition is related by the captain, Amenemheb, in the inscription upon his tomb.⁶ It appears that in the time of Thothmes III.

¹ As Wilkinson (in the author's *Hieroglyphs*, vol. ii. p. 302, 2nd ed.) and Birch (*Ancient Egypt* p. 134) rightly combine the queen (*Hit of Egypt* vol. i. p. 256, line 1), and even seems no need to place it in the country west of the Tigris. But, was this ever Naharin?

² Breghet, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 130, let. 10.

³ *Records of the Past*, vol. ii. p. 25. Senkari has been identified with Singar or Singar (a present name of the town to which the crosses Mesopotamia in about the latitude of Nineveh) Wilkinson, and again with Senkar or Singar, the Hittite term for the lower Mesopotamian country (Breghet), but it is quite possible that the modern Senkari

may be intended.

⁴ Wilkinson in the author's *Hieroglyphs*, vol. i. p. 259; vol. ii. p. 302, 2nd ed. Compare *Records of the Past* vol. ii. p. 27, note⁴, where it is admitted that 'bitumen' is the an eastern species of as furnished by the Ak.

⁵ The Egyptian remains found at Armin, the Khalkut (Assur), *Nineveh and Babylon* pp. 241, 2, which compute the circumference of 1 above III as Amenophis III., indicate most probably a fortified Egyptian post by an Egyptian garrison.

⁶ See *Records of the Past* vol. i. p. 62 and compare Breghet *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 256, let. 10.

the elephant haunted the woods and jungles of the Mesopotamian region, as he does now those of the peninsula of Hindustan. In the neighbourhood of Ni or Nim, large herds of the uncouth animal were to be met with; and Thothmes found leisure, in the intervals of his military operations, to hunt and kill no fewer than 120 elephants, and obtained their tusks. On one occasion, however, he was exposed to great danger. The 'rogue' or leading elephant of a herd made a rush upon the royal sportsman, and would probably have killed him, had not Amenemheb drawn its rage upon himself by inflicting a wound upon its trunk, and so saved his master.

The Mesopotamian campaign of Thothmes' thirty-third year was followed by one or two more in the same country, which riveted the Egyptian yoke upon the more western portion of the district, but do not appear to have much affected the more eastern parts of the territory. Nothing farther is heard of Ni or Nim, no more elephants are hunted; no more tribute arrives from Senkari; the Naharain, over which Thothmes permanently reigned, appears to have been limited to the tract between the Euphrates and the Khabour, east of which his remains cease to be found. It was not a part of his policy to measure his strength against that of either of the great Mesopotamian kingdoms, much less to attempt the conquest of the entire territory between the Mount Masius and the Persian Gulf. He was really content a little to outdo the warlike exploits of his father, Thothmes I., and aimed simply at making the Khabour, instead of the Euphrates, the eastern limit of the empire.

The later campaigns of the great Thothmes were almost entirely in regions which he had previously

overrun, and were undertaken to subdue revolt, to compel the payment of tribute, or to chastise marauders. Expeditions of this kind occupied the monarch almost continuously until his fortieth year,¹ when he appears to have allowed himself a rest from his military labours, and to have turned his attention to inscriptions, obelisks, and buildings. With an elaboration worthy of all praise, though somewhat wearisome to the student of his times, he placed on record, at Karnak and elsewhere, all the details of his several campaigns, all the particulars of the booties which he bore away, and of the tributes which he exacted from the various nations under his rule.² It appears that, in the way of tribute or booty, he carried off from the subject countries above 11,000 captives, 1,670 chariots, 3,639 horses, 4,481 of the larger cattle, more than 35,000 goats, silver to the amount of 3,940 pounds, and gold to the amount of 9,054 pounds. He also brought into Egypt from the conquered lands enormous quantities of corn and wine, together with incense, balsam, honey, ivory, ebony, and other rare woods, lapis-lazuli and other precious stones, furniture, statues, vases, dishes, basins, tent-poles, bows, habergeons, fruit-trees, live birds, and monkeys! With a curiosity that was insatiable he noted all that was strange or unusual in the lands which he visited, and sought to introduce each novelty into his own proper country. Two unknown kinds of birds, and a variety of the goose, which he found in Mesopotamia and transported thence to the valley of

¹ Disjoint record is found of expeditions in the thirty-fourth, thirty-fifth, thirty-sixth, and thirty-eighth years (Brugsch, pp. 335, 337, 340, 341); and others appear to have belonged to the thirty-sixth, thirty-

seventh and eighth.²

² For the particulars see *Records of the Past*, vol. 2, pp. 21-62 and Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. 1, pp. 329-44, 1st ed.

the Nile, are said to have been 'dearer to the king than anything else'.¹ His artists had orders to make careful studies of the various objects, and to represent them faithfully upon his monuments. We see on these 'water-lilies as high as trees, plants of a growth like cactuses, all sorts of trees and shrubs, leaves, flowers, and fruits, including raisins and pomegranates; oxen and calves also figured, and among them a wonderful animal with three horns. There are likewise herons, sparrow hawks, geese, and doves. All these objects appear gaily intermixed in the pictures, as suited the simple childlike conception of the 'primitive artist'.² An inscription tells the intention of the monarch:—'Here are all sorts of plants and all sorts of flowers of the Holy Land, which the king discovered when he went to the land of Ruten to conquer it. Thus says the king—"I swear by the sun, and I call to witness my father Ammon, that all is plain truth: there is no trace of deception in that which I relate. What the splendid soil brings forth in the way of productions, I have had portrayed in these pictures, with the intention of offering them to my father Ammon, as a memorial for all times."³

Among the numerous inscriptions of this great king, none is more remarkable than that which adorns one of the chambers added by him to the grand temple of Ammon at Thebes, whereby he set forth his supposed connection with these monarchs of the Old Empire whom he acknowledged as legitimate occupants of the Egyptian throne. To Thothmes III belongs the credit of being the first, so far as we know, to attempt the task of arranging the old kings in some-

¹ Deugsch, *Hist. of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 334, 1st ed. ² *Ibid.* pp. 337-8.

thing like chronological order. What materials he possessed for the work, what amount of labour he expended upon it, how far it was an historical, how far an arbitrary arrangement, are points upon which various opinions may be held; but it is uncontested that out of the chaos of the past he educed a certain method and order, when in its main features came to be recognised by the Egyptians themselves as authentic and authoritative. Sixty kings, commencing with Seneferu, and comprising Aamu, Pepi, several Antefs, Mentuhoteps and Usertasens, were exhibited in a consecutive series as ancestors of the reigning Pharaoh, who represented himself as making offerings to them, and thus acknowledged at once their ancestral relation to himself and their divinity.¹ The 'Great Tablet of Karnak,' as it is called, must always remain among the most important of those documents upon which the arrangement of the early history of Egypt depends: and though by many its value is thought to be surpassed by later and fuller lists, there will always be some to whom, on account of its antiquity, it will approve itself as the most important and most trustworthy of all the early catalogues of kings.

Besides distinguishing himself as a warrior, as a record writer, as a natural historian, and as a genealogist, Thothmes III. was one of the greatest of Egyptian builders and patrons of art. The great temple of Ammon at Thebes was the special object of his fostering care; and he began his career of builder and restorer by repairing the damages which his ancestor, Hatshepsut, had inflicted on that glorious edifice to gratify

¹ See Lepsius, *Monum. d'Hist.* p. 367, 1st ed.; Diodorus, *Nouvelles*
Table d'Egypte, vol. i. pp. 325-41. *Table d'Egypte*, p. 6 (Paris, 1865).
Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. &c.

her dislike of her brother, Thothmes II., and her father, Thothmes I. Statues of Thothmes I and his father, Amenophis, which Hatshe had thrown down, were re-erected, by Thothmes III before the southern propylæa of the temple in the first year of his independent reign.¹ The central sanctuary, which Usurtasen I had built in common stone,² was next replaced by the present granite edifice under the directions of the young prince, who then proceeded to build, in rear of the old temple, a magnificent hall, or pillared chamber, of dimensions previously unknown in Egypt. This edifice was an oblong square, 143 feet long by fifty five feet wide, or nearly half as large again as the nave of Canterbury Cathedral.³ The whole of this apartment was roofed in with slabs of solid stone; two rows of circular pillars thirty feet in height supported the central part, dividing it into three avenues, while on each side of the pillars was a row of square piers, still further extending the width of the chamber, and breaking it up into five long vistas.⁴ In connection with this noble hall, on three sides of it, north, east, and south, Thothmes erected further chambers and corridors, one of the former, situated towards the south, containing that 'Great Table of Karnak' which was described in the last paragraph.

Thothmes also added propylæa to the temple on the south,⁵ and erected in front of it two, or perhaps

¹ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 369, 1st ed. the Hall of Thothmes was 7,885 square feet.

² See above, p. 149.

³ The nave of Canterbury Cathedral is 144 feet in length and averaging the width forty feet in breadth, so that its area is 5,760 feet. Add one half, and the result is 8,640 square feet. The area of

⁴ See above, vol. i. pp. 223-30, and compare Perkinson, *History of Architecture*, vol. i. pp. 100-7 (1st ed.)

⁵ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 386, 1st ed.

small temple at Medinet-Abou, a temple to Kneph, adorned with obelisks, at Elephantine,¹ and a series of temples and monuments at Ombos, Ikenh, Abydos, Coptos, Denderah, Labyrinth, Hermopolis, and Memphis in Egypt, and at Assuta, Corte, Falais, Pachis, Semreh, and Kasmeh in Nubia.² Large remains still exist in the Komumeh and Semneh temples,³ where Thothmes worships Totan, the Nubian Kneph, in conjunction with Usartasen III., his own ancestor. There are also extensive ruins of his great buildings at Denderah, Ombos, and Nupata. Altogether, Thothmes III. is pronounced to have 'left more monuments than any other Pharaoh, excepting Ramesses II.,' and, though occasionally showing himself, as a builder, somewhat capricious and whimsical, yet still, on the whole, to have worked in 'a pure style,' and proved that he was 'not deficient in good taste.'⁴

There is reason to believe that the great constructions of this mighty monarch were, in part at least, the product of forced labours. Doubtless his eleven thousand captives⁵ were for the most part held in slavery, and compelled to employ their energies in helping towards the accomplishment of these grand works which his active mind was continually engaged in devising. We find among the monuments of his time

¹ Thotmes Embarkment, while on his way to the Upper Egypt of Assuta.

² These obelisks, brought to Eng. and by the Duke of Northumberland, and large no. monument of Sakhaw, belonged originally to the French.

³ See Wilkinson to the authors *Hieroglyphs*, vol. ii. p. 37, and ed. Wilson, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. pp. 406-7 1st ed. Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 102.

⁴ As will be seen by consulting the *Hieroglyphs*, vol. i. pp. 47-49. On the other hand, the no. of the temple built by Thothmes at Elephantine, which in the time of the French expedition, was largely excavated, and Henry Compton, 1788, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 102 1st ed.

⁵ Wilkinson to the authors *Hieroglyphs*, vol. i. p. 47.

⁶ See above, page 237.

a representation¹ of the mode in which the services of these foreign bondsmen were made to subserve the glory of the Pharaoh who had carried them away captive. Some are seen kneading and cutting up the clay, others bear them water from a large rotating pool, others again, with the assistance of a wooden mould, shape the clay into bricks, which are then taken and placed in long rows to dry; finally, when the bricks are sufficiently hard, the highest class of labourers proceed to build them into walls. All the work is performed under the eyes of taskmasters armed with sticks, who address the labourers with the words: 'The stick is in my hand. Be not idle.' Over the whole is an inscription which says: 'Here are to be seen the prisoners, whom have been carried away as living captives in very great numbers, they work at the baking with active fingers; their overseers are in sight; they insist with vehemence (on the others labouring), obeying the orders of the great skilled lord (i.e. the head-architect), who prescribes to them the works, and gives directions to the masters; they are rewarded with wine and all kinds of good dishes, they perform their service with a mind full of love for the king, they build for Thothmes Kamankhepru a Holy of Holies for the gods. May it be rewarded to him through a range of many years!'²

The scene is so graphically—the words are so forcible and suitable—that many have recognised in this remarkable picture an actual representation of the oppressed Hebrews³ working under the tyrants who

¹ *Denkmäler*, vol. v. pt. 1, pl. 1, fig. 50.
² A coloured drawing of the scene is given in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 244; *Hongkongkong*, p. 100; *Japan and China*, p. 201; *China*, p. 114, as ed.
³ *Hiraguchi, History of Egypt*, vol. i. *History of the Old Testament*, vol.

'made their eyes bitter with hard bondage in mortar and in brick,' beating them and ill using them, so that 'all the service, wherein they made them serve, was with rigour,'¹ but the best critics of the present day² are of opinion that, though the work is an excellent illustration of the sort of life led by the Israelites under the Pharaohs who oppressed them, yet, in point of fact, it depicts not their sufferings, but those of quite a different people. The labourers were persons whom Thothmes had carried off in his wars—the captives of his bow and of his spear—not members of a despised race, which he had inherited with his other subjects from his forefathers; their countenances have a Semitic cast, but are certainly not markedly Jewish; and the general character of their physiognomy is very different from that of the Jews. They have light hair, and in several instances blue eyes,³ they are as slight in frame as the Egyptians themselves, and in few instances do they wear a beard. While, therefore, we must look with special interest on a work which brings before us the sort of suffering that befell the Israelites under hard bondage in Egypt, we are bound to regard it as bearing only indirectly on this subject, and as primarily illustrative only of the mode in which prisoners of war were treated by the Egyptians in the palmiest days of the Empire.

It may be asked, however, with some excuse for the question, what *was* the condition of the Israelites at this time? Were they still in Egypt, or had they already gone forth? Did or did not Thothmes III.

1. p. 162. Kutsch. *Traumant in Fission*, p. 10, *Palter*, *Leopold*, *Chandos*, vol. 2, Introduction, p. 10.

² See *Barb*, *Ancient Egypt*, p.

30. *Brace's History of Egypt*, vol. 1, p. 77. *See*, *ibid.*, *Wentz*, *who took the same view* (*Rawlin*, *see*, *Herodotus*, *et*, *et*, p. 25).

³ See the representation in the *Brace*, *et*, *et*, p. 40.

stand in any peculiar relation to them? An undying interest attaches to the Hebrew race, and Egypt herself derives from her connection with the 'peculiar people' more than half the attractiveness which she possesses for the general public. Without this, she might still, through her antiquity and her mysteriousness, draw to herself the regards of the careless student, of the philologist, and the antiquarian, but to the masses she would be simply an empty dead and gone, a closed page of old world history, the 'shadow of a great name,' and nothing more. It is because 'Israel sojourned in Egypt,'¹ and the 'house of Jacob among' a 'people of strange language,'²—it is because the life and character of the Jewish race were exceedingly impressed and coloured by their long residence in that wonderful land, and their long contact with the wonderful Egyptian nation—it is because for nearly eighteen centuries the histories of Egypt and Palestine were intermixed, and the Hebrew and Egyptian races acted and re-acted one upon the other, that the world at large does not regard Egyptology with indifference, or turn a deaf ear to those who seek to instruct it upon Egyptian matters. Naturally, it is at the points of contact between Egyptian and Hebrew history that the interest of the former culminates, and the historian of Egypt, when he reaches the probable period of the servitude and the Exodus, is bound to throw as much light as he possibly can on the time and circumstances of their occurrence.

We have expressed our opinion that Joseph was probably the minister of Apophis, the last and worst king, and that the sons of Jacob entered Egypt from Palestine under his dominion.³ Hospitality received by a

¹ Deut. xxi. 5.

² Isa. xli. 1.

³ See above, pp. 231-5.

people of the same pastoral habits with themselves, the Israelites occupied the land of Goshen, a portion of the Iamtic nome,¹ lying between the Schennytic and Pelusiac branches of the Nile, where they fed their own flocks, but at the same superintended the flocks belonging to the Egyptian king.² If Joseph lived, as is commonly supposed, about seventy years after this event, he must have long outlived Apion, whose entire reign is estimated at sixty-one years.³ Probably he died under Arhmes, about B.C. 1600, having of course lost his position of 'lord over the whole land,'⁴ when the Shepherd dominion fell, but having left an undying name, which long protected his kinsmen. For many years they lived peacefully and undisturbed in the region assigned them, where they 'were fruitful, and increased abundantly, and multiplied, and waxed exceeding mighty,'⁵ until the land 'was filled with them.'⁶ At length a 'new king arose up over Egypt, which knew not Joseph.'⁷ The only question which can properly be raised at this period of the history — Who was this? Was Thothmes III., or was any one of his predecessors of the eighteenth dynasty, the 'new king, and had the oppression of the Israelites now begun, or were they still living in the quiet and retired position which they occupied from the first, 'serving' the Egyptians,⁸ but not ill-treated by them? Chronological considerations lead to the conclusion that the severe oppression had not yet begun. It was consequent on the very great multiplication of the Israelites, which rendered them formidable to Egypt and to

¹ See Brugsch's map accompanying the second volume of his *Égypte* (1875) and his *History*.

² Gen. xlvii 6.

³ Manetho ap. Syncell. *Chron.*

Joseph. p. 61 p.

⁴ Jer. xii 11.

⁵ Ex. i. 7.

⁶ *Ibid.* xxxix 8.

⁷ Gen. xlv 13.

multiplication required time for its development, and cannot reasonably be thought to have attained such proportions as to call for severe measures of repression in the century, or century and a quarter, which had intervened between the reign of Apepi and that of Thotmes III.¹ The 'new king' must be looked for at a date considerably later than that of this monarch, and we must regard Thotmes and all the earlier kings of this dynasty as Pharaohs under whose sway the nascent people remained quietly in Goshen, rapidly multiplying and increasing, but not to such an extent as to draw upon them, as yet, the jealous fear of their sovereign.

Among the inscriptions of Thotmes are some which seem to ascribe to him a series of victories over the nations of the south,² as well as over those of the north and the north-east; but his own annals are so nearly complete, at a his own constant presence with the forces engaged in Syria and Mesopotamia, is so distinctly marked, that it seems impossible to view these southern victories as gained by the monarch in person.³ They were the fruit, it is probable, of campaigns carried on by his generals in the opposite quarter to that against which his own efforts were directed—campaigns which resulted in the capture of numerous prisoners and the carrying off of much booty, but which did not add a new province to the Empire.

According to one writer, the maritime successes of

¹ The generations from Apepi to Thotmes III. are five, which will probably amount to Egypt to 125 years. The calculation on both sides the accession of Thotmes III. gives $61 + 25 + 14 + 21 = 121$ years. The reign of Thotmes II. was

short, probably not exceeding five or six years.

² *Records of the Past* &c. i. p. 34, par. 22; Brugsch, *History of Egypt* vol. i. p. 363, 1st ed.

³ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 362, 1st ed.

Thothmes were almost more remarkable than those which he gained by land. 'One perceives,' says M. Lefortant,¹ 'by the inscription upon the stele of Thabes that the fleets of the great Pharaoh, after having first conquered Cyprus and Crete, went further subjected to his empire the islands of the southern Archipelago, a considerable portion of the seaboard of Greece and of Asia Minor, and even perhaps the lower extremity of Italy. It appears to me that one ought to conclude from the same monument that the war-vessels of Thothmes III. penetrated pretty frequently into the waters of the Black Sea, where Herodotus pretends that the Egyptians had before this founded a colony in Colchis for the working of the mines;² I am, in fact, disposed to recognise the ancestors of the Germanic Ases—the descendants of the Ashkenaz of Genesis x—at this time dwellers on the Palus Mæotis

in one of the tribes enumerated among the northern peoples who paid tribute to the fleet of Thothmes. In another direction the same force had made the authority of Egypt to be acknowledged along the entire seaboard of Libya. Monuments of the reign of Thothmes III. have been found at Cherchel in Algeria, and it is not at all impossible that they really mark the limit whereto the power of this prince extended on the north coast of Africa.'

Now, it is certain that Thothmes was accompanied and supported by a considerable fleet in several of his

¹ *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. I. pp. 251, 7.

² Herodotus says nothing about the 'working of the mines,' and does not even mention the existence of mineral treasures on the Caucasian

territory. According to him, the young men Scythians left behind him consisted of soldiers who had been educated by the king, and by him sent out Scythians and Persians. (Herod. i. 204.)

expeditions into Syria;¹ and it is not at all improbable that he extended his dominion over the island of Cyprus, which in a much less flourishing period was conquered and held by Amosis.² But the extended maritime dominion assigned to him in this passage scarcely rests on any secure or stable foundation. It is not accepted by the more sober of modern Egyptologists,³ nor can it be said to have probability in its favour. The spirit of maritime enterprise which animated the Greeks, the Phœnicians, and the Carthaginians, was at no time rife in Egypt; and Egyptian sailors would scarcely have confronted the perils of the inhospitable Phœnix, or even of the open Mediterranean, without a much stronger inducement than any which the European coasts had at this time to offer them. It is said that they may have employed the services of Tyrian mariners;⁴ but there is no evidence that Tyre was at this early date (c. 1500) a great maritime state, or indeed that the Phœnicians proper had as yet passed from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean.⁵ The sole foundation on which M. Lenormant's theory rests is that of the ethnic names occurring in the hymn or song of victory inscribed by Thothmes on the wall of the temple of Ammon at Thebes, but these names are of exceedingly doubtful import, and, according to Dr. Brugsch, designate none but Asiatic or African nations.

¹ See above, p. 224, and compare Dr. Birch's *History of Egypt*, vol. i. pp. 235, 236, and 238, 1st ed.

² Herod. i. 162.

³ As Birch and Brugsch, who know of no such extensive maritime dominion. Birch supposes that Thothmes exercised authority over

some of the islands of the Archipelago adjacent to Egypt (p. 100), Brugsch, however, limits his conclusions to Cyprus and the Phœnicians coast.

⁴ Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i. p. 225.

⁵ See Herodotus's *Herodotus*, vol. i. p. 202, 2nd ed.

The passage on which M. Lénormant rests his theory is thus translated by his German fellow-labourer:¹—

{*Almost identical.*}

I came and then smote the cities of Zim,
I smote their towers, and set fire to their lands;
I made them regard by the flames as the burning sun,
Then smote at an sight of them in my wrath.

I came and then smote the cities that dwell in Acha,
Then I smote captive the great herds of Hitiun,
I made them behold the flames as the royal ashurnasir,
As the greatest city wraps in the war-chariot.

I came, and then smote the land of the East,
Then I smote against the dwellers in the Hiti land,
I made them behold the flames as the great Ashurnasir,
Which smote forth its host and disperses the dew.

I came and then smote the land of the West,
Baba and Achah the Phoenicians I smote and there is fear,
I make them look upon the flames as upon a rising hail,
Courageous, with sharp horns, whom none can approach.

I came and then smote the subjects of their lords
The land of Hitiun trembled for fear of me
I made them look upon the flames as upon a resolute,
Lorry as in the sunset, not to be overthrown.

I came and then smote the land that dwell to the Great Sea,
The cities of the sea were smitten by war-ry,
I made them behold the flames as the Ashurnasir,
Which smote and set at the mark of his wrath.

I came, and then smote the land of the Tabian
The people of Hitiun and of their cities to the great,
I made them behold the flames as the great Ashurnasir,
Which smote its host and smote through the valleys.

I came and then smote the city of the northern, in the
The cities of the great sea are smitten in the great,
I made them behold the flames as the burning hawk,
Which smote with his great whatever passes him.

¹ *History of Egypt*, vol. i. pp. 371-2, 1st ed.

I came, and then smote the lands in front
 Those that sat upon the sand ~~and carried away captives~~
 I made them before thy Thames like the palm of the South,
 Which passes through the lands as a living warrior.

I came, and then smote the nomad tribes of Nubia,
 Even to the end of that which thou holdest ~~in thy grasp~~.
 I made thee behold thy enemies like thy parted brethren,
 Whose hands I have smitten to bleed thee.

If this be a correct version of the Egyptian original, it is clear that the maritime dominion claimed is of the vaguest kind. Some dwellers in the Great Sea are said to have been smitten, which would be sufficiently answered by the reduction of Cyprus, or even by that of the island Tyre and of Aradus, others have heard and feared the conqueror's war-cry, he has smitten certain 'northern' nations, which may point merely to the Libyæ and the Tulu or Zabu, and 'the circuit of the Great Sea is bound in his grasp,' which would be ordinary Oriental hyperbole for obtaining the mastery over the Eastern Mediterranean. On the whole, it would seem to be most probable that the fleets of Thothmes III. traversed only the extreme eastern portion of the Levant, and that his maritime dominion did not extend further than the coasts of Egypt, Syria, Cilicia,¹ and Cyprus.

Still, it is not without reason that the latest historian of Egypt has pronounced Thothmes III. to have been the greatest of Egyptian kings.² And now,

¹ The Matzen or Matæ of the fifth station are regarded by Dr Birch as representing Asia Minor generally, *Annals of the Rev.* vol. ii. p. 36, note. Ancient Egypt p. 100. They are perhaps the Matæ of Herodotus i. 27, who assigned it a geographical position

but their locality cannot at present have been ascertained. Probably they held possession of the Caspian.

² *Reinach, History of Egypt* vol. i. p. 45. et seq. 'We were here led to regard him as the greatest king of Egyptian history.'

restless, brave even to rashness,¹ equally remarkable as a warrior and as a general, successful in his naval no less than in his military operations, he spread the name and fame of Egypt through distant lands, alarmed the great empires of Western Asia, conquered and held in subjection all Syria and Western Mesopotamia as far as the Euphrate river, probably reduced Cyprus, chastised the Arabs, crushed rebellion in Nubia, and left to his successor a dominion extending above eleven hundred miles from north to south, and (in places) four hundred and fifty miles from west to east. At the same time he distinguished himself as a builder—Restorer or founder of a score of temples, designer of the great 'Hall of Pillars' at Thebes, by far the largest apartment that the world had as yet seen, erector of numerous gigantic obelisks, constructor and adorning of vast pyramids, author or restorer of at least five huge colossi, he has left the impress of his presence in Egypt more widely than almost any other of her kings, while at the same time he has supplied to the great capitals of the modern world their most striking Egyptian monuments. The memorial which he erected to commemorate his conquest of the Lord of Nubia looks down upon the place of the Athribis in the city of Constantinople; one of his great Theban obelisks rears itself in the midst of the Piazza in front of the Church of St. John Lateran in Rome;² while the two sphinx which he set up before the temple of the Sun at Heliopolis,

It appears from his words that the things mentioned on his obelisks among an oath that none of them would join him in his attacks upon the enemy, or even 'etc.' aside before the king, so as to afford him protection. See *Diogenes' History*

of Egypt, vol. 3, p. 392, let. ad 1.

¹ 'Very worthy that obelisk of Thebes II. *Exvota in Italy*, p. 537, E. T. V; but it is undoubtedly the work of his successor. *Diogenes, History of Egypt*, vol. 1, p. 401, let. ad 1.

after long adorning Alexandria, have been conveyed respectively to London and to New York, where they may check the overweening arrogance of the two proudest nations of the modern world by showing them that the art and engineering skill of ancient Egypt were in some respects unapproachable. It may be further noted that the name of Thothmes III. is found, more frequently than any other, on scarabs and small images,² which were used as amulets, whence it would seem that he was regarded after his death as a sort of deity of good omen, a preserver against the evil influence of wicked spirits and sorcerers.³



Head of Thothmes III.

In person Thothmes III. does not appear to have been very remarkable. His countenance was thoroughly Egyptian, but not characterised by any

² Birch, *Guide to Museum*, p. 70.

³ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, v. 1. i. p. 300.

strong individuality. The long, well shaped, but somewhat delicate nose, almost in line with the forehead, gives a sugally feminine appearance to the face, which is generally represented as beardless and moderately plump. The eye, prominent, and larger than that of the ordinary Egyptian, has a pensive but resolute expression, and is suggestive of mental force. The mouth is somewhat too full for beauty, but is resolute, like the eye, and less sensual than that of most Egyptians. There is an appearance of weakness about the chin, which is short and retreats slightly, thus helping to give the entire countenance a womanish look. Altogether, the face has less of strength and determination than we should have expected, but is not wholly without indications of those qualities.

Thothmes III died after a reign of fifty four years,¹ according to his own reckoning;² probably at about the age of sixty,³ since he seems to have been a mere infant at the death of his father, Thothmes I. He married a wife called Hatsen Merira,⁴ by whom he had, at least two children, a daughter,⁵ Neferu, and a son, Amenstep, who succeeded him.

Amenhotep, the son of Thothmes III., took on his possession the throne name of Ra-in-khepu, and is known in history as Amenophis II.⁶ He was not a king of any great force of character or ability. During

I have the honor, Sir, to acknowledge the receipt of the letter of the 11th inst. and in reply to inform you that the same has been forwarded to the proper authorities for their consideration.

That is, the result of a
process of human nature, on
the part of the laborer and the
employer is his own death and
the death of his family.

[illegible]

* *See also* *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine*, vol. 1, p. 1.

it is the σ_7 δ_7 where δ_7 is the
the σ_7 δ_7 where δ_7 is the
the σ_7 δ_7 where δ_7 is the
the σ_7 δ_7 where δ_7 is the

[illegible]

⁴ And a part is the illness given
by Malaria in summer. (Cay-
nagmash vol 1 p. 74, 4, 5).

his short reign of some seven or eight years,¹ he achieved but little that is deserving of remembrance. As crown prince, it would seem that he had conducted a campaign against the Bedouins of the desert between the valley of the Nile and the Red Sea, in which he had obtained certain successes.² As king his efforts were directed solely to the maintenance of the Empire acquired by his father, and the chastisement of those who rebelled against his authority. Following the usual practice of Oriental subject nations at the death of their conqueror, the tribes of Western Asia no sooner heard of Thothmes' decease than they renounced their allegiance to Egypt, and reclaimed their independence. Amenophis in his first or second year had to undertake an expedition against the rebels, and to re-establish the authority of Egypt over the entire region which had been conquered by his father. It appears that he was everywhere successful. He rapidly overran Syria and Mesopotamia, taking the chief cities after short sieges, and even pushed his arms as far as the town of Ni, the supposed great city of Nineveh.³ At Takhira in Northern Syria he slew, he tells us, seven kings with his own battle-club, after which he suspended their bodies from the prow of his own war-vessel, and in this way conveyed them to Egypt, where he hung six out of the seven outside the walls of Thebes, and the remaining one on the wall of Napata, to serve as a warning to the legions of the south.⁴ It

¹ The seventh year of Amenophis II. is mentioned upon his monumental column at Karnak, p. 1053. This year is supposed to have terminated shortly after this date. In the exact duration is uncertain.

² Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. 2, p. 46, l. 23.

³ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, p. 141. Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. 2, p. 46, l. 24.

⁴ Brugsch, p. 46.

is remarkable that Aménophis II. is the first king who represents himself in the act of killing several captured monarchs at one and the same time with a club or mace,* and the account which he gives of his proceedings raises the suspicion that he could not do better was actually accomplished by his own hand. If so, we must regard him as a cruel and barbarous—cruel, to condemn to death so large a number, when the execution of two or three would have been equally efficacious as a warning; barbarous, to take upon himself the odious office of executioner. Modern Egyptologists have for the most part glossed over, or ignored, the cruelties and cruelties, the defilements and abominations, which deformed the civilization of Egypt. It is not the wish of the present writer to give them more prominence, but the interests of historical truth require that, when the occasion offers, they should be noticed, lest a false estimate should be formed of the degree of refinement and of moral development to which the Egyptians of Pharaonic times attained.

The countries which Aménophis II. is said to have chastised and reduced to obedience are eleven in number; but some of them are very vaguely indicated. A recent writer thus enumerates them:—"The land of the south, the inhabitants of the Oases, the land of the north, the Arabians or Souda, the Marmaric (Libyan), the Nubian nomad tribes, the Asiatic husbandmen, Nabaria, Phoenicia, the Cyprian coast, the upper Hattian country. If all these had rebelled Aménophis must certainly have had enough to occupy him during

* On the frequent occurrence of which is given in the *Denkmalen*, this kind of representation, see vol. i. p. 114 above, vol. i. p. 473 note.¹ The *Buguen History of Egypt*, ed. post 1800, is, I believe that vol. i. p. 41, dated of Aménophis II. at Koummeh,

his short reign, and deserves some credit for having re-established the authority of Egypt on its sides, after it had been so seriously injured.

As a builder, Amenophis II. fell very far short, not only of his predecessor, but of most Egyptian kings of this period. The hall which he added to the great temple of Amun at Thebes is on a mean scale, and poor in the character of its ornamentation;¹ his temple at Anasa in Nubia is no particular merit, nor the additions which he made to the temple of Totm at Komamb.² strike the traveller as having much to recommend them to his notice. His best monument of his reign is his tomb at Med el-Chenah, where he is represented seated upon his throne with a sceptre in his right hand, and wearing the *was* hair beardress which characterises the god Meruti. Below him is a frieze containing the scutcheons of eleven captured kings, which in front of him are numerous as reclining attendants, bringing offerings of various kinds, such as lotuses, colossal statues, furniture, birds, vases, mirrors, and the like.³ His other sculptures are chiefly religious, and exhibit him as a worshipper of Harachteh, Ammon Ra, Thoth Kneph, Ptah, and Usarsaeh III., the great Nubian conqueror. They are all of the character of a commonplace flattery.

Amenophis was the son of Hatas Meruti, and in one place represents her as seated beside him on a throne like his own,⁴ which would seem to imply that he had succeeded her when in the government. He had a son, Shesmuwer Khnum, who bore the office of chief priest of Ammon, and a grandson Amen-hotep, or

¹ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, in p. 363-67.

² Ibid. p. 41, not ed.

³ Ibid. p. 363 and 364.

⁴ See also *Hendinader*, vol. x. pt.

⁵ Ibid. p. 41, b.

Amnephis, with the surname of Hapi.¹ The son, however, who succeeded him on the throne, bore his grandfather's name of Thothmes, to which he added those of Men-kheper-ra, ḥm.kpr.r, and Sakhm, skm, on his accession. It would seem that Thothmes was not the eldest son, or expectant heir of his predecessor, since he is not his successor in the queen's favour of Hatshepsut, and relates how that deity appeared to him as he slept, and raised his thoughts to the hope of sovereignty.² Naturally, when he became king, it was to the worship of Hymachis that he especially devoted himself, and identifying that god in some peculiar way with the Great Sphinx of the Pyramids,³ he set himself to clear away the vast mass of loose sand which had accumulated round the monument, and to exhibit to his contemporaries the entire figure in all its marvellous grandeur and beauty. At the same time he set up between the fore paws of the Sphinx a massive memorial table, twelve feet high, and nearly eight feet broad, on which he recorded the circumstances of his dream, his resolve to undertake the work of removing the immense accumulation of sand, and at length the happy accomplishment of his enterprise.⁴ In front of his memorial tablet, and also within the paws of the monstrous animal, Thothmes constructed a small temple for the worship of the god with whom he identified it, which was recently discovered by Dr Lepsius but is now again engulfed by the ever-encroaching sands of the desert.⁵

As a warrior, Thothmes IV. moved hither that

¹ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 42, 1st ed.

² *Ibid.* p. 419.

³ On its identification see above, p. 50, note 4.

⁴ Brugsch *History of Egypt* vol. i. pp. 40-47, 1st ed., *Denkmäler*, pl. 19, pl. 68.

⁵ Brugsch, p. 419.

was remarkable. One expedition against the Hittites of Syria,¹ and another against the Canaanites or people of Philistia,² are all that can be assigned to him. The former he commemorated in the great temple of Amen at Thebes, the latter in the Nubian temple of Amara. The captain, Amenhotep, seems to have accompanied him on such those occasions, and to have exaggerated his master's successes into a general subjection of both the South and the North.³ Thothmes, however, in a monumental tablet at Quamh, represents himself as smiting two enemies only.⁴



Head of Thothmes IV.

In his youth, Thothmes was addicted to field sports and manly exercises. He hunted the lion in the desert region to the west of the pyramids of Gizeh, and practised spear-throwing for his pleasure with


¹ Herodotus, p. 413.

² Ibid. p. 414.

³ See the inscription of Amenhotep, now in the British Museum.

⁴ See the inscription of Amenhotep, now in the British Museum.

bronze weapons, which he hurled at a target. So soon were the horses which he was accustomed to drive in his chariot, that, according to his own statement, they outstripped the wind, and when he overtook persons as he was driving, he passed them so rapidly that they could not reverse him.¹

Like his father, Teothmes IV. died when he was still quite a young man, having reigned not more than about eight or nine years.² He was succeeded by his son, Amen-hotep or Amenhotep, who took the throne named Meretot,  and is known as



Head of Amenhotep.

¹ Herodotus, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 215, lib. ii.

² The date of the year of Teothmes IV. is not stated even three or four years after his death. In *ancient Egypt*, vol. i, p. 215, it is stated that he appears on the monuments. Ma-

celius, however, seems to have placed his reign at 14 or 15 years, and at 14 or 15 years after the death of Thutmose III.

³ Herodotus, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 215, lib. ii. *Herodotus*, pt. ii, p. 215, lib. ii, and 74.

attached to her and dominated by her influence, he lent towards that exclusive and peculiar Sun worship which was established by his successor, and, though not the direct introducer of the change, must be viewed as having paved the way to it by accustoming the Egyptians to the idea.¹ The religious history of the ancient Eastern world is a subject at once too wide and too obscure to be discussed in this paper episodically; but it cannot be questioned that from a very ancient date there existed in Arabia and elsewhere a special devotion to the brilliant orb of day, which from time to time inspired to become a distinct and separate religion. In the nature worship of the Old Egyptian Empire the Sun had held no very important place. Ptah, Khepri, and Anpu had been the principal deities, while Ra had occupied a quite subordinate position. With the rise of Thebes to power, a change had occurred. Amun, early identified with Ra, and known conjointly as Amun-Ra, had been recognised as the head of the Pantheon; Mentu, Sati, Tani, Hathor, Isis, solar gods, and such in rank and position, the solar element to the Egyptian religion had, as it were, asserted itself and come to the front. Now a further development became manifest. The theory was broached that the real object of worship, and that the polytheism hitherto maintained as the State religion was false, wrongful, blasphemous. Adulteration was claimed for the god placed out of the fifty or sixty who had

¹ Amun-Ra had introduced a new form of worship, the cult of the sun-god, which was the more effective because it had not found a previous rival in the pantheon of the gods. The same thing happened,

He also proposed solar disks or sun-balls as symbols of the sun-god, and in the same way the religion of Ptah at Saïs was later Hymn. *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 427, note 1.

that he once or twice defeated the Ethiopians; but it is absurd to speak of him as a conquering monarch, or to put him 'on a level with the great Rameses' in respect of military matters.

As a builder, on the contrary, Amenôphis III. is entitled to very considerable credit, and may claim a place among the most distinguished of Egyptian monarchs.¹ Tablets existing in the quarters of Thebes near Memphis show that he began to excavate stone for the repairs of temples as early as his first and second year,² and the scale and number of his works are such as to indicate unintermitting attention to sculpture and building during the whole term of his long reign of thirty-six years. Amenôphis erected the great temple of Ammon at Luxor, one of the most magnificent in all Egypt,³ embellished that of Karnak with a new propylon, built two new temples on the same site to Ammon and Mars, and connected the whole quarter of the temples at Karnak with the new temple of Ammon at Luxor by an avenue of encrochamxes with the sun's disk on their heads.⁴ He also built two temples to keep or Khnum at Esplutina, one to contain his own image at Sochet in Nubia, a shrine with a propylon and ram sphinxes before it at Gebel Berkal or Nubata, and another at Seneh.⁵ Inscribed tablets dated in his reign are found at Seneneh, in the island of Kotosso, on the rocks between Philæ and Assuan, at Et-Kaah, at Siesta, and at Semtut.

¹ M. Lefebvre, *Les Égyptiens* with text. Amenôphis III. does not occur in the list of pharaohs *antérieurs aux Ramsès*.

² It gives: *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 427, 1st ed.

³ See the description in Ferguson

and History of Architecture, vol. i. pp. 1049, 1st ed.

⁴ Lefebvre, *loc. cit.* compares the *Encrochamx* with pl. 110 a, b.

⁵ *Encrochamx* (ibid.)

⁶ *Wörterbuch der Aegyptischen Sprache* vol. iii. p. 389, 1st ed.

Kladium in the Sannatic peninsula.¹ Of all his edifices, that which approved itself the most highly in his own eyes was the temple, or rather perhaps the temple-palace, of Luxor. 'I built on the rocky son,' he says, 'a court of alabaster, of rose granite, and of black stone. Also a double tower gateway and I executed, because I had undertaken to dedicate the most beautiful thing possible to my divine father *re Ammon*. Statues of the gods are to be seen in it everywhere. They are carved in all their parts. A great statue was made of gold and all kinds of beautiful precious stones. I gave directions to execute, O Ammon, what pleased thee well, to unite thee with thy beautiful dwelling.'²

It was in connection with another of his temples, one built upon the opposite bank of the Nile, that Amenophis caused to be constructed the most remarkable of all his works—the two gigantic statues which are still to be seen before the ruins of his temple, on the *dromos*, or paved way, by which it was approached.³ These sitting figures, which represent the king and self, were carved, each of them, out of a single block of solid reddish sandstone.⁴ Their present height above the pavement on which they stand is thirty-six feet,⁵ and the original height, measuring the total now worn by Egyptian kings, is supposed to have been nearly seventy feet.⁶ No other Egyptian colossal known to have much exceeded fifty feet. A peculiar form

¹ See the *Denkmalen*, &c. to the *Denkmalen*, p. 420, note 1. b. 2. p. 6. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 853. 854. 855. 856. 857. 858. 859. 860. 861. 862. 863. 864. 865. 866. 867. 868. 869. 870. 871. 872. 873. 874. 875. 876. 877. 878. 879. 880. 881. 882. 883. 884. 885. 886. 887. 888. 889. 890. 891. 892. 893. 894. 895. 896. 897. 898. 899. 900. 901. 902. 903. 904. 905. 906. 907. 908. 909. 910. 911. 912. 913. 914. 915. 916. 917. 918. 919. 920. 921. 922. 923. 924. 925. 926. 927. 928. 929. 930. 931. 932. 933. 934. 935. 936. 937. 938. 939. 940. 941. 942. 943. 944. 945. 946. 947. 948. 949. 950. 951. 952. 953. 954. 955. 956. 957. 958. 959. 960. 961. 962. 963. 964. 965. 966. 967. 968. 969. 970. 971. 972. 973. 974. 975. 976. 977. 978. 979. 980. 981. 982. 983. 984. 985. 986. 987. 988. 989. 990. 991. 992. 993. 994. 995. 996. 997. 998. 999. 1000.

² Brugsch, vol. i. p. 420.

³ Wilkinson, &c.

⁴ Brugsch, p. 421.

⁵ Ibid. p. 420, note 1. b. 2. p. 6. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 853. 854. 855. 856. 857. 858. 859. 860. 861. 862. 863. 864. 865. 866. 867. 868. 869. 870. 871. 872. 873. 874. 875. 876. 877. 878. 879. 880. 881. 882. 883. 884. 885. 886. 887. 888. 889. 890. 891. 892. 893. 894. 895. 896. 897. 898. 899. 900. 901. 902. 903. 904. 905. 906. 907. 908. 909. 910. 911. 912. 913. 914. 915. 916. 917. 918. 919. 920. 921. 922. 923. 924. 925. 926. 927. 928. 929. 930. 931. 932. 933. 934. 935. 936. 937. 938. 939. 940. 941. 942. 943. 944. 945. 946. 947. 948. 949. 950. 951. 952. 953. 954. 955. 956. 957. 958. 959. 960. 961. 962. 963. 964. 965. 966. 967. 968. 969. 970. 971. 972. 973. 974. 975. 976. 977. 978. 979. 980. 981. 982. 983. 984. 985. 986. 987. 988. 989. 990. 991. 992. 993. 994. 995. 996. 997. 998. 999. 1000.

⁶ Brugsch, loc. cit. p. 420, note 1. b. 2. p. 6. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 36

has attached to one of these statues, owing to the accident that during the space of about 220 years it emitted a musical sound soon after daybreak, and thus attracted to itself an inordinate share of the attention of travellers. A magical power was thought to be inherent in the 'voiced Memnon'—as the statue was called—and for above two centuries travellers flocked to it, inscribed their names upon it, and added sensible or silly remarks.¹ Learned writers also took notice of the phenomenon, and spoke of it as one of the prodiges which made Egypt a land of wonders.² Moderns believe the sound to have been the result of the sun's rays, either upon the stone itself, or upon the air contained in its crevices.³ Musical sounds produced by change of temperature are frequently given forth both by natural rocks and by quarried masses of certain kinds of stone; and their occurrence has been placed on record by eminently scientific persons.⁴ There is no sufficient reason to doubt that the tone, 'like the breaking of a harp-string,' discharged by the colossus of Amnophis, was a natural instance of this natural phenomenon, neither contrived nor even understood by the Egyptian priests. It is thought to have been first given forth after the shattering of the statue by an earthquake (B.C. 27), and to have ceased upon the report of the emperor Septimius Severus, circ. A.D. 193.

The depressing appearance of the twin colossi has

See the work of Leconte de Lisle, who first given this explanation in *Notice sur le Memnon musical* [the *Quarterly Review* for Jan. 1831] and also in *Revue des Études Égyptiennes*, *Quarterly Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, *Quarterly Review*, N. S., pp. 225-26.

¹ See Leconte de Lisle, *op. cit.*

² See Leconte de Lisle, *op. cit.*

³ See Leconte de Lisle, *op. cit.*

⁴ See Leconte de Lisle, *op. cit.*

See David Brewster in and to

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⁵ See Leconte de Lisle, *op. cit.*

⁶ See Leconte de Lisle, *op. cit.*

See David Brewster in and to



THE TWO COLUMNS OF ALEXANDRIA III.



been frequently noticed by travellers. 'There they sit, says Miss Martineau, 'together, yet apart, in the midst of the plain, serene and vigilant, still keeping their untired watch over the lapse of ages and the eclipse of Egypt. I can never believe that anything else so majestic as this pair has been conceived of by the imagination of Art. Nothing, certainly, even in Nature, ever affected me so unspcakably; no thunder-storm in my childhood, nor any aspect of Niagara, or the Great Lakes of America, or the Alps, or the Desert, in my later years.' And again 'The pair sitting alone amid the expanse of verdure, with islands of ruin behind them, grow more striking to us every day.' To-day, for the first time, we looked up to them from their base. The impression of solemn tranquillity which they convey, when seen from distant points, is confirmed by a nearer approach. There they sit, keeping watch—hands on knees, gazing straight farward; seeming, though so much of the faces is gone, to be looking over to the monumental piles on the other side of the river, which became gorgeous temples after these throne-seats were placed here—the most formidable thrones that have ever been established on this earth!¹

The sculptor of these wonderful colossi bore the same name as his royal master, and prided himself on their execution, convenience and safe emplacement as the greatest achievements of his genius. 'I married, he says, the name of the king, he says, 'and no one has done the like of me in my works. I executed two portrait statues of the king, standing for their truth and height—their completed form I added,

¹ *Eastern Tale*, vol. i. pp. 24 and 242.

the Temple tower—forty cubits—was their measure—they were cut in the splendid sandstone in situ, on either side, the eastern and the western. I caused to be built eight ships, wherein the statues were carried up the river; they were empoised in their sublime beauty: they will last as long as I live. A joyful event was it when they were hoisted at Thebes and raised up in their place.¹

In brief, the works of Amenhotep III., are almost all objects of art, and are among the most striking left by any of the kings, being equally remarkable for their number, for their vast size, and for the delicacy and finish of their execution.² A liberal patron of all kinds of art, he evoked the genius which he required, and covered Egypt and Nubia with master-pieces of art, in the grand and solid style for which the land of Mizraim is celebrated.

Amenhotep was also distinguished as a lover of fell sports. During the first ten years of his reign such was his interest in the pursuit of the noblest kind of game, that he was able to boast of having slain with his own hand either 110 or, according to another authority, 210 peregrine fowls.³ Later on, he presented to the priests who had the charge of the great temple at Karnak a number of live lions,⁴ which he had personally caught in traps. These ferocious beasts seem occasionally to have been hunted by the Egyptians, and it is possible that they were employed to add grandeur and dignity to some of the religious processions. The lion was an emblem both of Horus and

¹ Diodorus *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 107; Herodotus, 210 (*History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 420, 2nd ed.).

² Vol. i. p. 420.

³ Herodotus, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 427, 2nd ed.

of 'Tum,'¹ his fitness to symbolise royalty caused the employment of his image to ornament the most elaborate of the Egyptian thrones;² and, if we may trust the sculptures, it twice has sometimes accompanied the king to the battle field.³ Africa has always been a special nursery of lions,⁴ and Amenhotep, like his father, Thothmes IV,⁵ may have indulged his passion for chasing them without venturing beyond his own borders; or, like some of the great Assyrian kings, as may have ruled Mesopotamia his hunting ground, and have carried off his sporting honours in the field which at a later date supplied the noble game to Tiglath-pileser and Sardanapalus.⁶

In personal character Amenophis was remarkable for kindness, generosity, and submission to female influence. In the early part of his reign he was governed by his mother, Mutemwia; in his middle age, later life he deferred greatly to his wife Ti-ot-Tia. The honours assigned to Ti-ot-Tia's sculptures⁷ are numerous, and imply something like divided sovereignty. Amenhotep, son of Hepu,⁸ and other favourites, as especially the vizier Khuenaten,⁹ were treated with much kindness and consideration by their generous sovereign, and received rewards at his hands for which they were duly thankful. Rewards were also lavishly showered on the priests and other subordinate fam-

¹ See above, p. 142.

² See the *Trésorier*, pl. at pla. 24, 25, 27, 100, 6, &c.

³ See above, vol. i, p. 431.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 101. For Africa, see p. 294. It is true that the lion of the time very abundant in Egypt has been very much diminished in number, and were perhaps never numerous as is generally imagined.

⁵ See above, p. 250.

⁶ *Journal of Quaker*, vol. ii, pp. 318, 411; *Transactions of Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. x, pp. 24, 5.

⁷ See the *Trésorier*, pl. at pl. 72, 74, 84, 6, 5, 6, and 6, 6.

⁸ *Deutsche Hieroglyphen*, vol. i, pp. 100, 5, 100, 1.

⁹ *Ibid.* p. 437.

tenants, who do not appear to have in any way exceeded their ordinary routine of duty. The mere payment of taxes was accepted as a token of loyalty and good will, and earned the honorable designation of a soldier or a mercenary.¹ At the same time justice was carefully administered— even petty thefts did not escape inquiry and detection,² and conviction was followed by adequate punishment.



Head of Amenôphis III.

Amenôphis is represented with a face that is somewhat prognathous,³ that is, one which has the jaws

¹ *Deussch*, p. 438.

² *Plut.*, p. 439.

³ *W. Thompson* remarks a prognathism on the forepart of his nose (see the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii.

p. 360, text 1). The statue in the British Museum (see p. 360) shows the prognathism of the face better than the above illustration.

advanced beyond the line of the forehead. He has a long nose, much rounded at the end, a short upper lip, and a projecting and somewhat pointed chin. The expression of his face is passive but determined. He is sometimes beardless, but more often wears the usual long beard, not covering the chin, but detached from it, and descending to the middle of the breast.

The reign of Amenosis lasts at least thirty-six years.¹ He appears by the monuments to have had four sons, whom he represents as engaged in religious worship on more than one occasion.² He has also at least three daughters, called respectively Isis, Hout in Libi, and Sathem.³ His wife, Teti, survives him,⁴ and he left the crown to his eldest son, Amenhotep, or Amenophis IV., under her direction and superintendence.

Amenhotep IV. has a physiognomy entirely different from that of any other Egyptian monarch, and indeed one altogether abnormal and extraordinary. His general appearance is rather that of a woman than of a man; he has a slanting forehead, a long thin nose, a flexure projecting mouth, and a strongly developed chin. His neck, which is most unusually long and thin, seems scarcely equal to the support of his head, and his spine he shakes apparent ill adapted to sustain the weight of his overcorpulent body. He is supposed to have derived this strange physique from his maternal ancestors, who are thought to have been Abyssinians of the Galla family.⁵ The throne names

¹ The thirty-sixth year of Amenophis IV. is named in a tablet at the Serapeum, K. 1010 (Bull. *Ancient Egypt*, p. 111).

² *Denkmaeler*, pt. iii. pl. 75 and b.

³ *Reusch, History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 44, 11, ed.

⁴ To appear on the monuments of Amenophis IV. as still living.

Denkmaeler, pt. iii. p. 100, 101, 102.

⁵ See the woodcut given, as I compare the *Denkmaeler*, pt. ii. p. 11, 12. Brugues speaks of the soft-skinned traits he observed in the *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 44, 11, ed.

⁶ Brugues, &c.

which he assumed upon his accession were Nefer-kheper-ra, and Tuten-ka, but it was not long ere he assumed these appellations, which were of the usual Egyptian type, and substituted for them the strange and wholly unheeded designation of Kheper-ka-ta, 'Faith of the Solar Disc,' which thenceforward he employed in his inscriptions almost exclusively. Among



Head of Amenophis IV (Akhenaten).

his throne two objects were 'M. Aten and M. Harmakhe, 'guardians of the solar disc, and 'friend of Her or Her husband,' which is identified with the solar deity. He was the first king to employ epithets of this class with his cartouches, and in this way to elongate and multiply

* Hugsch, *loc. cit.* For illustrations, see the *Journ. asiat.* pt. viii. p. 9, 10, 106, &c.

votary.¹ 'Beautiful is thy setting, thou lord of Ieds, a king of the worlds. When thou nighest thyself at thy setting with the heavenly sphere, mortals rejoice before thy countenance, and give honour to him who has created them, and pray before him who has formed them, before the prince of thy son, who loves thee, the king Khnum-aten.' The whole land of Egypt, and all the nations repeat all thy names at thy rising, to magnify thy rising, in like manner as they magnify thy setting. Thou, O God, who in truth art the living one, standest before me two eyes. Thou art He who createst that which previously was not, who formest everything, who art in everything. We also have come to being through the word of thy mouth.' 'Thou disk of the sun, thou living god, says another,² 'there is none other beside thee! Thou givest health to the eyes through thy beams, creator of all beings. Thou goest up on the eastern horizon of the heaven, to dispense life to all which thou hast created—man, four-footed beasts, birds, and creeping things of the earth—we are they live. All these behold thee; and they go to sleep when thou settest.'

The religious revolution on which Amenophis was bent, aroused, as a matter of course, the strongest resistance on the part of the priests; and the priests had it in their power to excite feelings of dissatisfaction on the part of the people. Dr. Brugsch is of opinion that when Amenophis, not content with the introduction of the disk-worship and its establishment as the religion of the court, proceeded to conduct a crusade against the old religion, and, as a first step, gave command for the obliteration of the names of Ammon and his wife,

¹ See Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 440, lat. ed.

² *Ibid.* p. 450.

But, from the monuments, 'open rebellion broke out,'¹ and the city of Ammon ceased to be a safe residence for the heretic monarch. Accordingly he deserted it, and proceeded to build for himself a new capital on a new site. Equallyaverse to both Thebes and Memphis, he fixed on a situation midway between the two, and in a broad plain on the right bank of the Nile, at the site of the modern Tel-el-Amarna, he rapidly brought into existence a wholly new city, which he called Kanaten, and adorned with numerous monuments of considerable architectural pretensions.² The armies of Syria were had under contribution, and large quantities of granite were cut in the 'Red Mountain' of that neighbourhood for the construction of the new metropolis.³ A stately temple was erected on an entirely new plan in the vicinity of the royal palace; several extensive courts were built, in which, breasters were set up, a new style of ornamentation, free in a great measure from the old conventional restraints,⁴ was introduced, and the city of Kanaten rapidly attained to considerable size and beauty.

It would seem that the bold step taken by the innovating Pharaoh was thoroughly and completely successful. After his removal to Tel-el-Amarna he had no further difficulties with his subjects. He reigned for at least twelve years in unbroken peace and tranquillity, employed in beautifying the city whereof he was the founder, in setting up tablets to commemorate his own merits, together with those of his wife and daughters, and in bestowing honours and gifts on his

¹ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 442, footnote.

² See the *Monuments*, pt. iii. pls. 91-111.

³ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 444, footnote.

⁴ Brugsch, *Monuments of Egypt*, c. 110.

frequenters of his court and the inhabitants of his capital.¹ In his domestic life he was especially and exceptionally happy. Deeply devoted to his mother, he received her gladly into his new city, made her a permanent resident at his court, and treated her with marked respect and honour.² To his wife, Queen Nefer Ti, he was most tenderly attached, and for the numerous daughters whom she bore him his affection was almost as great. 'Sweet love fills my heart, he says in one description,³ 'for the queen, and for her young children. Grant a long life of many years to the Queen, Nefer Ti, may she keep the hand of Pharaoh.' Grant a long life to the royal daughter, Meri Aten, and to the royal daughter, Mok Aten, and to their children! May they keep the hand of the queen, the mother, eternally and for ever! What I swear is a true avowal of what my heart says to me. Never is there falsehood in what I say.' Altogether Nefer Ti bore him seven children,⁴ who were all daughters, and who bore a strong resemblance to their father.⁵ These young princesses accompanied him when he travelled, each riding in her own two-wheeled chariot.⁶

A few military expeditions of no great importance belong to the reign of Amenhotep, Khuenaten.⁷ but they do not seem to have been conducted by the monarch in person.⁸ The Syrians of the North and

¹ *Deakin's*, *op. cit.* p. 147.

² *Revue*, *Histor. of Egypt*,

³ *ibid.* p. 147, 1st ed.

⁴ *ibid.* p. 147.

⁵ *Revue*, *op. cit.* p. 147.

⁶ *Revue*, *op. cit.* p. 147.

⁷ *Revue*, *op. cit.* p. 147.

⁸ *Revue*, *op. cit.* p. 147.

Revue, *op. cit.* p. 147. In one of the most recent editions of the *Revue*, Amenhotep is represented (*Deakin's*, *op. cit.* p. 147).

⁹ See the *Deakin's*, *op. cit.* p. 147.

¹⁰ *ibid.* p. 147.

¹¹ *ibid.* p. 147.

¹² *Revue*, *op. cit.* p. 147.

¹³ *Revue*, *op. cit.* p. 147.

¹⁴ *Revue*, *op. cit.* p. 147.

¹⁵ *Revue*, *op. cit.* p. 147.

¹⁶ *Revue*, *op. cit.* p. 147.

¹⁷ *Revue*, *op. cit.* p. 147.

the negro races of the South are represented as led before him by the general, Hor-em-hab, who may perhaps be presumed to have gained the victories to which they were made prisoners. The triumph celebrated by Khuenaten on a count of these successes is dated in the twentieth year,¹ which is the latest known year of his reign.

Khuenaten's want of male offspring caused some difficulties as respect of the succession to arise at his death. His daughters' husbands seem to have become rival candidates for the Egyptian throne, and to have reigned in rapid succession one after another. The order of the names is disputed;² and it is perhaps enough to say that three monarchs, Sa-nekhit, Ai, and Tutankhamen, all of them more or less closely connected with Khuenaten,³ intervened between that king and Hor-em-hab, the last Pharaoh of the eighteenth dynasty. Ai and Tutankhamen have each his memorials, by which it appears that the former held the throne for at least four years,⁴ and carried on successful wars with the Assyrians,⁵ while the latter received embassies both from Libanus and Syria with rich and costly presents, both in the shape of rare products and articles of an artistic character.⁶ The Syrians brought gold, lapis lazuli, turquoises, and other precious stones, together with horses, chariots, and vases of silver, while

¹ Breghel, *loc.*

² Ibid.

³ Breghel gives the three next successors of Khuenaten as the son of Sa-nekhit, the son of Ai, the son of Tutankhamen. The son of Sa-nekhit, Ai, Tutankhamen.

⁴ Sa-nekhit was married to Mer-ne-het, one of Khuenaten's sisters. Tutankhamen and his wife Ank-hes-nef, no other of

known. Ai was the husband of Tey, the name of Khuenaten. (Breghel, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. pp. 48, 49, *loc. cit.*)

⁵ Breghel, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 111. Compare the *Denkmäler*, pt. ii. p. 119.

⁶ Breghel, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 61, *loc. cit.*

⁷ Breghel, pp. 167, 1. *Denkmäler*, pt. iii. p. 35, 1a.

from Ethiopia came gold chasings, gold vessels set with jewels, chariots, ships, weapons, and oxen whose horns were tipped with ornamental carvings. Egypt, it would seem, mounted so far foreign domination compared in the south, and in the north was still recognised as mistress of Syria. We may suspect, however, that she had been forced to relinquish her Mesopotamian possessions, since we have no evidence of tribute coming to her from Nahrarin subsequently to the reign of Amenophis III,¹ and no trace of an Egyptian occupation of the tract east of the Euphrates at any later date.²

There is some difficulty in understanding the exact position which the three immediate successors of Khuenaten took up with respect to his religious reformation. On the one hand, it is clear that a full share of the odium which attached to the disk worship was inherited by them, since 'the avenging chise' has mutilated their names and features almost as ruthlessly as those of Khuenaten himself; on the other, it appears that two at least out of the three monarchs departed from his religious principles, so far at any rate as to restore the Ammon worship, and to associate it with the cult which their own inclinations may be supposed to have favoured. Tutenkhamen even consented to parade his royal titular bearings by exhibiting in his name an attachment to the Ammon worship, and Akhenaten to Ammon and his associated gods according to the old traditional custom.³ Both of these

¹ M. Lemaire says that Tutenkhamen asserted his supremacy in the *Memnon* of Thebes. *Ancient Egypt*, vol. 1, p. 163. But the cartonnage of the *Memnon* is supposed to be of the reign of Amenophis III.


² The Egyptian objects found by

Sir H. Layard at Ashur in his excavated palace date into the reign of Amenophis III.

³ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 111.

⁴ Birch, *History of Egypt*, vol. 1, p. 181. *Brugsma*, p. 10, 11, 114 g.

kings, moreover, reigned at Thebes, which was restorer, to the honour of being the state-capital, the metropolitan city of Khuenaten falling back into obscurity. On the whole, there are perhaps grounds for supposing that the successors of Amenophis IV., finding that his reforms were odious to the priests, if not even to the great mass of the Egyptians, made an attempt at conciliating their opponents by a species of compromise. They tolerated, nay, to a certain extent patronised—the old system, but their sympathies were with the new; outwardly they returned to the ancient paths, but in their hearts they preferred the ‘way’ introduced by Khuenaten. As commonly happens when persons ‘talt’ between two opinions,¹ they failed to please either side, and Egypt, after a brief period of religious hesitancy, shook off their influence and returned with unmitigated zeal to its previous form of nature-worship.

The eighteenth dynasty terminated with Hor-em-hab-Meremamon, , who is identified with the Horns of Mnathot and appears to have been a prince of vigour and ability. Though married to a sister-in-law of the heretic monarch,² Khuenaten or Amenophis IV., he proved himself a staunch adherent of the ancient religion. No sooner had he mounted the throne than he set to work with a strong determination to complete the religious restoration begun under his immediate predecessors—he destroyed the edifices of such of them as he deemed tainted with

¹ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 112. Lepsius, *Monum. Anc. Egypt.*, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 473, lat. ed.

² See Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 465. M. Lepsius has shown that he was Khuenaten's

youngest brother (Munier, *loc. cit.*), but Dr. Brugsch regards him as merely an heir-designate of good repute, whom Amenophis III. banished, realising his confidence (*History of Egypt*, vol. i. pp. 462-3, lat. ed.).

heresy, obliterated in numerous cases the image of Khonsaten re-cut the name of Ammon on the monuments from which it had been erased, and built of material obtained by his demolitions a new gateway to the temple of Ammon at Karnak, to manifest his deep devotion to the great Theban deity.¹ At the same time he gave their due honours to the other gods. He represents himself as worshipping Heru, Ptah, Khen, Set, Khonsu,² and as specially cherished by Atum and Anka.³ According to an inscription which he set up at Heliopolis he 'renewed the dwellings of the gods, from the stairways of the masonry land of Atum⁴ to the surfaces of Nubia.' He had all their images sculptured as they had been before. He set them up again in the temples, and had a hundred images made—all of the fava—for each of them, out of all manner of costly stones. He visited the cities of the gods, which lay as heaps of rubbish in the land, and had them restored just as they had stood from the beginning of all things. He re-established for each a 'daily festival of sacrifice,' provided the temples with a due supply of 'silver and golden vessels, of 'holy persons and singers, presented to them 'arable land and cattle,' and gave them day by day a sufficiency of 'all kinds of provisions.' Gods and men were equally delighted with the new régime. 'The heaven was in festive disposition, the land was filled with festivity, and, as for the dwellers of Egypt, their souls were full of pleasant feelings.' Then the inhabitants of the land, in high delight, raised toward heaven the song of praise: great and small lifted up

¹ Birch *Ancient Egypt*, pp. 112, 13, vol. i. p. 104. See list of *Reveries*.

² *Ibid.* under pt. iii. pl. 110 c, of the *Temple*, vol. i. pp. 20 et seqq. p. 122 a, c.

³ *Ibid.* pl. 120, 121 b.

⁴ Or the meaning of this phrase, see above, p. 144.

⁵ See Brugsch, *History of Egypt*,

their voices; and the whole land was moved with joy!¹

Besides accomplishing this great religious restoration, which included the rebuilding or repair of almost all the temples throughout Egypt and Nubia, Horemheb engaged in at least one important war with his neighbours upon the south. In this quarter, Ethiopia,



Head of Horemheb

though often defeated, and sometimes despoiled of territory, as by Thutmose III,² was still unsubdued, and, to prevent or punish predatory attacks, expeditions were from time to time necessary, which meant the plunder of the miserable land, and secured Egypt a period of repose. Horemheb conducted one of these expeditions, invaded the land of Kush, bere

¹ Breasted, *History of Egypt*, vol. 4, p. 467, 1st ed.

² See above, p. 166.

dramatic opposition, and came back from his successful campaign laden with booty and accompanied by numerous prisoners. In the rock temple of Sais he represents himself as he was borne in triumph by a *sedes* on his return.¹ Seated in a palanquin, ornamented on its side by the figure of a lion, and upheld by twelve bearers, he presented himself to his adoring subjects, amid the shouts and cries of those who shouted: 'Behold the king, who has fallen upon the land of Kush!' See, the divine benefactor returns home after subduing the princes of all countries. His bow is in his hand, as though he were Mentu, the lord of Thebes. The powerful and glorious king leads captive the princes of the miserable land of Kush. He returns thence with the booty which he has taken by force, as his father Ammon ordered him.² Caravans with staves cleared the road by which the procession was to pass; behind the king went his chosen warriors, leading with them the captured generals as prisoners; then followed the rest of the army, marshalled in various corps, and marching in time to the sound of the trumpet's blast. A numerous company of Egyptian officers, priests, and other officials came out to receive their conqueror, and did homage to him. To exult in his triumph, the captives and prisoners were made to chant the glories of their conqueror. 'Recline thy face, O king of Egypt, they said, 'in face thy face, O son of the barbarians! Thy voice is great in the land of Kush, where thy warfare resounded through the dwellings of men. Great is thy power, thou beneficent ruler - it

¹ *Monuments* pt. v. pl. 24.

² Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 47; 1st ed. Birch, *Ancient*











Egypt p. 112; Lacourmunt, *Monuments of History Ancienne*, vol. i. p. 364.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE NINETEENTH DYNASTY (ABOUT B.C. 1200-1080).

Accession of Ramses I. His Syrian War. Accession of Seti I. His Wars with the Nubians, Kana and Khita. Peace made with the Assyrian King and in Lebanon. Accession of Menephthah. Wars with the Ethiopians and Ethiopians. Seti's great Works. His Tomb at Karnak. His Personal Appearance. His Assassination of his Son Ramesses. Reign of Ramesses Meriamun. His campaigns against of him. His Wars with the Nubians and Ethiopians with the Hittites with the Nubians. His Treaty of Peace with the Hittites. Inheritance of his Son Ramesses. His later Syrian Wars. His later African Wars. Large number of his Captives. How pursued in capturing them. Their Employment. Great Works of Ramesses meeting and commemorated. His Personal Appearance. Domestic Rule and Character. Assassination of his Son Menephthah. His troubled Reign. Insignificance of his Monuments. Domestic Character of his Foreign Policy. Success in action of his Son Ramesses with European Nations. Repulse of the Libyan Attack. Relations of Menephthah with the Israelites under Moses. Privileges of his later years. Examples between his Son Seti II and Amenhotep, or Amenhotep. Brief Reigns of these Monarchs. Reign of Siptah. Period of Anarchy. Restoration of Egypt under the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties. Its history and its kindred Arts. Religion. Manners and Customs. Literature. Its condition in the general Prosperity.

We have reached the grandest period of Egyptian history—the reign of the Nineteenth Dynasty and the reign of the great Ramses I. *Maximilian's Ancient History*, vol. 4, p. 119.

THE founder of the nineteenth dynasty was a certain Ramses, , or Ramessu,         , the first prince of that celebrated name—a name which afterwards became so glorious as to be given almost every other Egyptian royal title. His birth and parentage are in

an untimely end from attacking any great kingdom. The circumstances which confronted him were difficult. Egypt had, it would seem, during the troublous times that followed the death of Amenophis IV., lost almost all her Asiatic possessions, and fallen back into the position from which she was raised by the first and the third Thothmes. When **Rameses** came to the throne, he found the **Hittites** (**Katti** masters of Syria, dominant over the whole region from Mount Taurus to Philistia. In alliance with the other Canaanite nations, with the Philistines, and even with the Bedouins Shasu, they threatened a renewed invasion of the territory from which they had been driven by Aahmes. To meet this danger, **Rameses** seems to have marched an army into Syria, to have engaged the **Katti** in at least one battle,¹ and to have been so far successful that he induced the Hittite monarch, **Septrur** or **Sardul**, to conclude with him an offensive and defensive alliance.² We do not know whether he engaged in any other wars. Perhaps the prisoners whom he attached to the temple of **Khem-Horus** near Wady Haba, many in number and of both sexes,³ were the produce of his Syrian campaign, transported to the opposite limit of the Empire.⁴

The coronation of **Rameses I.** is represented on the entrance gate of the great temple at Karnak, where the monarch also exalts himself as worshipping **Minu**, **Nefer-Tur**, **Son**, **Tafu**, **Sch**, **Netpe**, **Iwas**, **Osiris**,

¹ Brugsch, *Hist. of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 333; *Revue Archéol. Egypt.* 111; *Lévyant*, *Revue d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i. p. 337.

² See the 'Treaty of Peace between **Rameses II.** and the Hittites' published in the *Records of the Past*, vol. iv. pp. 28-9.

³ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, &c.

⁴ There was no general victory over the Assyrian **Babylon** and over the **Phoenicians**. (See *Ann. Hist. Anc.* vol. ii. p. 623, &c. i. pp. 438-7, vol. iv. p. 448, *Hérod.* iv. 204, &c. 20 and 114.)

⁵ Brugsch, *loc.*

and Sobek.¹ Besides these sculptures, the only important work which he undertook was his tomb in the Island of Mok, or 'valley of the kings' sepulchres, near Thebes, which is a rock-chamber of no very large dimensions, but ornamented with a number of bas-reliefs. In one, on his descent to Amenti, he is introduced by Horus to Osiris,² in another he worships Neheh Nun, represented with a scarabæus in the place of a human head,³ in a third he takes the hand of Nech.⁴ The old worship is evidently established in all its fulness during his reign; the Sun-Gods are especially revered, and a high and honourable place is assigned to Set. Ramses's regard for Set is especially indicated by the name that he gave to his eldest son, which was Seti, or, more fully, Seti Metephtah,



the 'the Set worshipper,'⁵ beloved of Ptahhotep.⁶

The dangers which had threatened Egypt under Ramses, and which had been checked by his prompt invasion of Western Asia, revived under his son. Seti, was scarcely settled upon the throne, when he found himself assailed upon his north-eastern frontier by a formidable coalition of Semitic with Turanian races, which boded ill for the tranquillity of his kingdom. The rebellious Hittites, who, a century earlier, had bowed their heads before the might of Thothmes III.⁷ having recovered themselves in the hour of Egypt's weakness, were now at the zenith of their greatness, held all Syria firmly in their grasp, and are even believed by some to have extended their domain on into

¹ *Denkmäler*, vi. pl. 124.

² *Ibid.* pl. 136.

³ *Ibid.* pl. 135, a.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Hengstedt, History of Egypt*, vol.

ii. p. 227, note.

⁶ See above, p. 228.

⁷

Mesopotamia and Asia Minor.¹ Whatever may be thought of the fact of this enlarged dominion, or of its ultimate assignment to this particular period, the Hittite power in Syria at this time is beyond all question; and Seti's attention was, by the necessity of the case, first turned in this direction, where he felt that the state of affairs called for a great and sustained effort. The nearest danger was from the Shasu, who pressed forward westward quite into the proper Egyptian territory,² and made themselves masters of a considerable portion of the Lantic canton. Seti, in the first year of his reign,³ proceeded against these aggressors. Starting from the fortress of Kition—the Khiam of Scripture⁴—mounted himself in his war-chariot, and accompanied by a large chariot force, he marched along the coast road as far as the 'land of Zana,' or the Palestine country, when he turned inland, overran the tract known in later times as Idumea, took various fortresses, and ruthlessly slaughtered their garrisons, raging, as he himself tells us, 'like a fierce lion.'⁵ and wading through a sea of enemies. 'The Shasu were turned into a heap of corpses in their land country—they lay there in their haunts.'⁶ The entire region between Egypt Proper and Canaan was subjected, the names of the strongholds were changed,⁷ and Egyptian troops were placed in them.

A campaign followed against the Kharn tyrants, who had lent some assistance to the Shasu in the recent

¹ Leventhal, *Manual of History*, 4th ed., vol. i. p. 380. He says, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 133, d.

² *Assuet*, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 11, 1st ed.

³ See the inscription quoted by Briggs, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 15, 1st ed.

⁴ *Ex. xix. 20*; *Numb. xxxi. 14*.

⁵ *Assuet*, *History of Egypt*, loc. cit. *Illustrations of Scripture of Bible*, from *Exodus*, vol. x. p. 7.

⁶ *Assuet*, *Compendium of Ancient Egypt*, p. 104.

⁷ *Bibl. i. 115.*

struggle.¹ A battle was fought with this enemy at Jaham Jaminu, in which both sides brought a large force of chariots into the field. The Kharu were defeated in the engagement; and Seti boasts that he 'annihilated the kings of the land of the Syrians.'²

The defeat of the Kharu had Northern Syria open to invasion; and Seti was able now to march against his principal enemy, Maut-enac, king of the Hittites, who held in subjection all the tribes from Central Palestine to the Euphrates. He proceeded first against the Rutu,³ overcame them in several pitched battles, and, assisted by a son who fought constantly by his side,⁴ slaughtered them almost to extermination.

His victorious progress brought him, after a time, to the vicinity of Kadesh - the important city on the Orontes which, a century earlier, had been besieged and taken by the great Tuthmes.⁵ Kadesh seems now to have belonged to the nation of the Amorites, who had occupied at different times various parts of Syria and Palestine.⁶ This nation was at present included among the subjects of the Hittites, and told Kadesh as their dependent vassal. It would seem from one of Seti's bas-reliefs, that he had the skill, or the good fortune, to surprise this stronghold, and to become master of it by a *coup de main*. The arrival of the Egyptian army is represented as unexpected; the

¹ Breghsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 14, 1404. Compare the *Thutmes* under p. 14, pl. 19, b.

² Breghsch, *Les Inscriptions de Seti Ier, roi de Egypte*, p. 132.

³ Breghsch, *Les Inscriptions de Seti Ier*, p. 132.

⁴ Breghsch, *Les Inscriptions de Seti Ier*, p. 132.

⁵ Breghsch, p. 23.

⁶ See also the *Thutmes* under p. 14, pl. 19, b. Compare the *Thutmes* under p. 14, pl. 19, b. Compare the *Thutmes* under p. 14, pl. 19, b. Compare the *Thutmes* under p. 14, pl. 19, b.

Lordsmen are pasturing their cattle under the trees which surround the city, when the Egyptian monarch appears in his war-chariot. At once everyone seeks to save himself, the lords fly with their keepers: there is a general panic and confusion. But the defenders of the town are no cowards; they sally forth from the gates, and engage the army of the invader, but are defeated with great slaughter by the warlike Pharaoh, who pierces scores of them with his arrows.¹ An attack is then made upon the fortress, which is but weakly defended, and city and people fall into the hands of Seti.

The proper territory of the Khita was now reached and invaded, and although 'the well ordered hosts of the beardless light-red Khita, on foot, on horseback, and in chariots,'² gave battle to the invaders in the open field, and offered a gallant and stout resistance to the host of the Egyptians, yet here once more Seti was successful, and defeated the enemy with great slaughter, driving their squadrons before him in headlong flight, and killing a vast number of the leaders. A sculpture shows us 'the miserable inhabitants of the land of the Khita' receiving from Seti this 'great overthrow.'³ A song of praise was composed for the occasion, which is appended to the sculpture, and runs as follows:—⁴

'Pharaoh is a jackal which rushes leaping through the Hittite land; he is a grim lion which frequents the most hidden paths of all regions, he is a powerful bird with a pair of sharpened horns. He has struck down

¹ *Jenkinson*, pt. iii. pl. 127 a. Brugsch uses his *History* vol. i. *Brugsch History of Egypt* vol. ii. p. 15. Dr. Lushington has given a somewhat different version in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. v. p. 516.

² *Brugsch* *loc.*

³ *Jenkinson*, pt. iii. pl. 130 a.

⁴ I follow the translation of Dr

the Asiaties, he has thrown to the ground the Kh ta; he has slain their princes.'

The victory thus gained was followed by a treaty of peace. Seti and his great adversary, Mont-ouar, entered into a solemn agreement, by which 'enmity was turned to friendship,' 'perpetual amity and good brotherhood being proclaimed between the two nations.' Seti then set out upon his return to Egypt. Carrying with him some scores of 'captured chiefs,'¹ and with the heads of three leading rebels attached to the lander portion of his chariot,² he proceeded, with the pomp of a triumph, through Syria and Palestine, everywhere receiving the submission and homage of the inhabitants. On his way down the broad fertile Syrian valley, seeing the forests of Lebanon on his right hand, and noticing the vast size and especially the great height of the cedars, he ordered a halt, and called upon the headmen of the hill tribes to set to work and fell the straightest and tallest of the trees, that he might take them with him to Egypt.³ Assyrian monarchs at a later date acted similarly.⁴ The Lebanon timber was especially suited for the fabrication of those lofty masts which were commonly placed in front of the propylæa of temples, and the delicately-scented cedar wood was thought peculiarly fitted for the interior of the 'Sacred Boat of Amun,' which played an important part in the Theban religious processions.⁵ Seti, having seen his orders executed,⁶ in a short time

¹ Brugsch, &c.

² See the *Records of the Past*, vol. iv. pp. 28 &c.

³ See also how they are represented in one limestone *Denkmael*, pl. iii. fig. 120.

⁴ Ibid. pt. iii. pl. 128 a.

⁵ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol.

i. p. 17. Also, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 114.

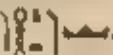
⁶ *Ancient Monuments*, vol. i. p. 627. Also, ⁷ Layard, *Niniveh and Babylon* p. 644.

⁸ Brugsch, &c.

⁹ See *Reposoir des Monuments Sévériens*, pl. 46.

resumed his march, and, passing through the desert, returned, by way of Maktul (Magdol or Magdolon), Thas-pa-mun (Lacedæmon?), and Garu (Heliopolis?), to his own country.¹

The defeat of the Hittites appears to have involved the recovery of Mesopotamia, or, at any rate, of some portion of it. Seti, in giving an account of his expedition, declares that he 'had smitten the Asu and struck to the ground the Mentu, and had placed his boundaries at the extremity of the world, and at the utmost borders of the river-land of Naharian'.² In his list of the conquered countries, Naharian occupies a prominent place,³ and one of its chiefs is represented among the prisoners whom he presents to Ammon, Maat, and Khonsu, on the auspicious occasion of his return.⁴ As, however, no Egyptian remains of his date have been as yet discovered in Mesopotamia, it would seem to be doubtful whether he really occupied it, or did more than obtain from some of the chiefs a nominal submission.

Besides his great wars on the continent of Asu, Seti conducted important military operations both in the West and in the South. On the western borders of Egypt, in the vicinity of the Mediterranean, the blue-eyed, fair-skinned nation of the Tukkani,⁵  had from time to time given trouble to the Egyptians by their raids into the Delta, and expeditions had been conducted against them by several of the more warlike

¹ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 113.

² See the inscription of Seti at Karnak. The Khits are
³ See the inscription of Seti at Karnak. The Khits are
⁴ See the inscription of Seti at Karnak. The Khits are

⁵ See the inscription of Seti at Karnak. The Khits are
⁶ See the inscription of Seti at Karnak. The Khits are

¹ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol.
² Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol.

³ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol.
⁴ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol.

⁵ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol.

kings.* They were a wild and uncivilised people, dwelling in caves, and having no other arms than bows and arrows. 'For dress they wore a long cloak or tunic open in front;'² and they are distinguished on the Egyptian monuments by having all their hair shaved excepting one large lock, which is plaited and depends from the right side of the head.³ Each warrior wore also two ostrich feathers, sloping at opposite angles, and fastened on his head at the top of the crown. Seti, accompanied by his more famous son, Rameses,⁴ invaded the country of this people with an infantry and chariot force, utterly routed them in a pitched battle, and drove them to seek shelter in their caves, where they 'remained hidden through fear of the king.'⁵ It has been supposed that these caves must have been 'in the Atlas range;'⁶ but there were Troglydites in many parts of Africa much nearer to Egypt,⁷ and the country about Cyrene would afford every facility for such underground abodes as are here indicated.

War was also waged under the auspices of Seti against the Cushites of the south, who had once more shown themselves troublesome, and monuments of victory were set up at Hoshu and Nesebi. At the latter place Seti is made to boast that his dominion reaches southward 'to the arms of the Whites,'⁸ as if it extended as far as Africa was inhabited. The wars in

* As particularly by Amenophis II. (supra, p. 280).

² *Proc. Ancient Egypt*, p. 57.

³ Birch, *Proc.*, Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, &c. Compare Herod. iv. 221, where a custom of this kind is ascribed to the Ethiopians which he calls the Maxæ.

⁴ Rossetti, *Mon. Storici*, p. 66.

⁵ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 29.

⁶ *Proc. Ancient Egypt*, p. 117.

⁷ Herod. iv. 183. Strabo, xvi. 4, § 17, xxv. 1, § 6.

⁸ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 140. Compare the story told by Herodotus of the Pactes, who went out to war against the South-West (iv. 170).

this quarter were probably not conducted by the king in person, but by the high officials who bore the title of 'Royal-sons of Kush,' of whom two are mentioned at this period, named respectively Ani and Anchem-*aput*.¹

But the military triumphs of Seti were outdone and eclipsed by his great works. The grand 'Hall of Columns' in the temple of Karnak—the chief glory of that magnificent edifice—which is supported by a hundred and sixty-four massive stone pillars, and covers a larger area than the Cathedral of Cologne,² was designed in its entirety, and for the most part constructed, by him, and, if it had stood alone, would have sufficed to place him in the first rank of builders. It is a masterpiece of the highest class, so vast as to overwhelm the mind of the spectator, so awfully ornamented as to excite his astonishment and admiration, so beautifully proportioned as to satisfy the requirements of the most refined taste, so entirely in harmony with its surroundings as to please even the most ignorant. Egyptian architectural power culminated in this wonderful edifice—its supreme effort—its crown and pride—its greatest and grandest achievement, and it only remained for later ages to reproduce faithful copies of the marvellous work of Seti, or to escape comparison by accomplishing works of an entirely different description. The 'Hall of Columns' at Karnak is not only the most sublime and beautiful of all the edifices there grouped together in vast numbers to form one vast unbroken temple, but it is the highest effort of Egyptian architectural genius, and is among

¹ *Brugsch, History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 280.

² See above, vol. i. pp. 220-7.

the eight or ten most splendid of all known architectural constructions.

One might have expected that so great a work would entirely occupy the mind, and monopolise the resources, of its erector, so as to leave him neither the thought nor means for other constructive efforts. But it was not so with Sen. Besides his Karnak building, he designed and commenced the striking Temple of the Ramesseum¹ at Old Karnak, opposite Thebes, in honour of his father, Rameses I.; he built a magnificent fine, in honour of Osiris, near Abydos,² he erected a special temple to the goddess of the South, the heavenly Nutekh, at El Kanh, and another similar one, in the form of a rock grotto, at the place called by the Greeks 'the Cave of Artemis,'³ near Rem el-Hassan, to Sekhet; he built also a temple at Hedeseh,⁴ made additions to the ancient shrines of Ptah and Tuta at Memphis and Heliopolis,⁵ erected at the last-named place the so-called Flaminian obelisk, which now adorns the Piazza del Popolo at Rome,⁶ set up stele at Silehs and Assuan,⁷ Syene; and left inscriptions upon tablets at Dosh, Seseh, and elsewhere.⁸ Above all, he constructed for himself a most magnificent and elaborate tomb. This excavation in the solid rock, known as 'Belzoni's tomb' from the name of its discoverer, still 'forms the chief attraction to all who visit the Valley of the Tomb of the Kings at Thebes,'⁹ and is one of the most magnificent of Egyptian sepul-

¹ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol.

² Ibid.

³ p. 27.

⁴ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol.

⁵ Ibid. p. 29.

⁶ p. 25.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 116.

⁹ *Brugsch, History of Egypt*, l. 5 c.

¹⁰ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 110.

¹¹ Ibid. p. 26. Compare Wilkinson in the *Annals & Herodotus*, vol. i. p. 300, 2nd ed.

shires. The lavish profusion of the painted sculptures, and the exquisite care with which everything, down to the minutest hieroglyph, is finished,¹ excite the admiration of the beholders; while the mystic character of the scenes represented,² and the astronomical problems involved in the roof-pictures of the * Golden Chamber, ³ add an element of deeper interest than any comprised within the range of mere art. The tomb possesses also a mythological inscription which is exceedingly curious.⁴ In the eyes of its constructor the tomb was not wholly finished, the intention of prolonging it by digging still further into the rock being apparent;⁵ but still it contained, when first discovered, the alabaster sarcophagus which the king had prepared for the reception of his mortal remains, a remarkable relic of antiquity now deposited in the Science Museum of London.⁶ Altogether, Seti's tomb, if not the most extensive, is far the most interesting and most beautiful of all those wonderful rock-sepulchres which form so important a portion of the extant Egyptian monuments.

Other important works were undertaken by this great monarch, with utility, rather than ostentation, for their object. In connection with the working of the gold mines in the desert between the Nile valley and the Red Sea, he employed engineers to discover a water source which should furnish a constant and copious supply to the miners and those employed in

¹ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. pp. 110, and compare the

² See the *Denkmäler*, pt. III. pls. 133-41.

³ Pl. 137.

⁴ See a paper by M. Edouard Naville in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vol.

ii. pp. 110, and compare the *Records of the Past*, vol. vi. p. 106-112.

⁵ Well known to the author's *Herakleum*, &c., i. p. 202, and ed., Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. II. p. 12.

⁶ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 116.

the carriage of the ores.¹ It has been maintained that the scientific men entrusted with the task accomplished it by boring a veritable 'artesian well';² but there seems to be no better foundation for this theory than the use of certain rhetorical expressions by the historiographer who placed the facts on record. 'Senn' he observed,³ 'had but to say the word, and lo! the water leaped forth from the living rock—the stream flowed out in abundance.' Clearly, this result, or at any rate a result capable of being thus described by a lively writer, might follow on the discovery of an ample spring by means of ordinary digging, without recourse being had to the scientific and comparatively modern operation of boring. We are certainly not justified in concluding from the expressions used that 'artesian wells' were familiar to the engineering science of Senn's day, or that he did more than 'happen upon' a regions source at a certain depth below the surface, in a district where there was no surface water in the shape of streams or springs.

Senn also, it is thought,⁴ commenced that far more important work, afterwards accomplished by his still greater son, the formation of a canal between the most eastern branch of the Nile and the Red Sea. This canal left the Nile a little above the town of Badastis, and ran east, or a little south of east, as far as the Bitter Lakes, when it changed its direction, and was carried nearly due south into the Gulf of Suez. The length of the canal, not counting the passage of the Bitter Lakes, was about seventy miles. Its course may

¹ *Therap. Ancient Egypt*, p. 118. *Therap. in antiquis aegyptiis*.
Revue de l'histoire de l'égypte, vol. ii. p. 118. *Revue de l'histoire de l'égypte*.

² *Therap. Ancient Egypt*, p. 118. *Therap. in antiquis aegyptiis*.
Revue de l'histoire de l'égypte, vol. ii. p. 118. *Revue de l'histoire de l'égypte*.

³ *Therap. Ancient Egypt*, p. 118. *Therap. in antiquis aegyptiis*.
Revue de l'histoire de l'égypte, vol. ii. p. 118. *Revue de l'histoire de l'égypte*.

⁴ *Therap. Ancient Egypt*, p. 118. *Therap. in antiquis aegyptiis*.
Revue de l'histoire de l'égypte, vol. ii. p. 118. *Revue de l'histoire de l'égypte*.

still be traced by a series of depressions along the line of the Wady Tournilat.¹

The inscriptions of Seti are chiefly accounts of his campaigns and of the offerings which he made out of the spoils of the conquered nations to Ammon and the other national gods. But they comprise one document of more than ordinary historical interest. This is the 'Great Table of Abydos,' containing the names of seventy-five of his predecessors² upon the throne of Egypt, arranged in (supposed) chronological order, which he set up in the temple that he dedicated, in the desert near that city, to Osiris, the god of the dead. The list commences with Menes (Mena), the mythic founder of the empire, and is carried on through the monarchs mentioned in the text of the present work³ to Neferkarnu, the last known king of the sixth dynasty, after which it enumerates eighteen unknown monarchs,⁴ who are supposed to have belonged to the sixth and eleventh dynasties, returning with the fifty-seventh name to a well-known personage, Nebkheperu or Mentuhotep II.,⁵ and then following with Senkharu the Amenemhats and Usartasen of the twelfth dynasty, the nine kings of the eighteenth, and Rameses I., the founder of the nineteenth, Seti's father. The resemblances and the differences between this list and that of Thothmes III.⁶ deserve careful attention, inasmuch as they do, on a certain settled basis of historic belief at the time, constitute with a large fluctuating element of tradition or conjecture, and thereby teaching us the

¹ Cf. Harte, *Egypt and the Nile*, p. 107. which are also represented.

² I have given the number as

seventy-seven (supra p. 250), but this number is only reached by forming the *apophthegm* and cartouches of Seti himself with his son, Rameses II.,

³ See pp. 26, 46, 77, and 92, 101.

⁴ The names are given in Lepsius's *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 10.

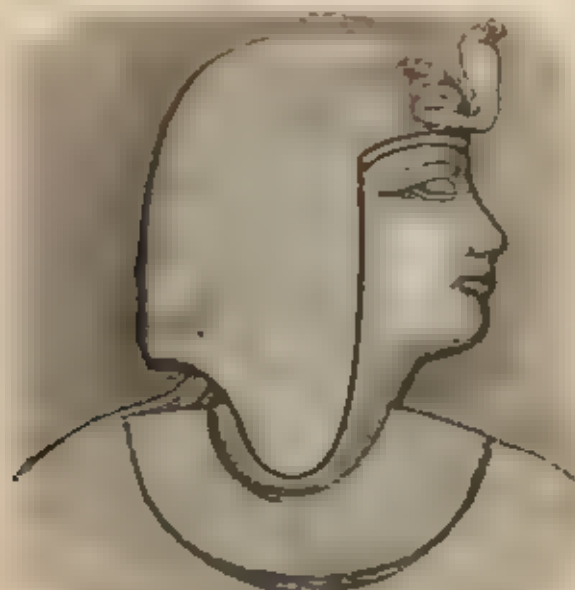
⁵ See p. 30, below.

⁶ See p. 120.

⁷ See above, p. 230.

extreme uncertainty of the mere dynastic lists where they are not checked and confirmed by contemporary fuller documents.


In personal appearance Seti seems not to have been remarkable. He had a fairly good forehead, a rounded depressed nose, full projecting lips, and a heavy chin.



Head of Seti I.

The expression of his face was calm open, and not imploring. In character he resembled the other Egyptian conquering monarchs, being vigorous, bold, measuring of himself, indefatigable, but ruthless and cruel. It is difficult to decide whether his rigorous ardour was a genuine feeling or merely a order to secure him the gratitude and support of the priestly class, a support always of great importance to the early princes of a dynasty not yet fully recognised as in

rightful possession of the throne. Certainly no Pharaoh ever showed himself more anxious to uphold the entire Egyptian religion, or more bent on paying homage to all the chief personages of the Pantheon. His material favours were freely granted to all the numerous shrines, and in his bas-reliefs he exhibited himself as the worshipper of almost every generally recognised deity. Nor does any divinity receive from Senus in due share of attention. Ammon-Ra, Horus, Isis, Osiris, and Athor are, so to speak, his favourites, but Egypt at this time was tolerably unanimous in ascribing to these gods a pre-eminence. After these five, he honours almost equally Set, Ra, Thot, Mentu, Sakh, Seb, Nepté, Nephthys, Thoht, Sabak, Min, Maat, Khonsu, Thot, Khem, Kneph-Sakh, and Anuka.¹

In his domestic relations he appears to have been fortunate. He married a wife, Tea or Tuan, , who is thought to have been a grand-daughter of Khnef-nu or Amenophis IV,² and to have thus brought a further strain of Semitic blood into the Egyptian royal house. This bore fruit at last three sons, of whom his successor, Ramesses Merimut-ma, was the eldest. This prince, like our own Henry VIII., inherited the claims and pretensions of two great rival houses—the Amonite and the Ramesside—and it was of great importance that he should be brought forward into political life at the earliest possible moment, since the general acceptance, of which he was assured, would add stability to the throne of his father. Accordingly,

¹ See the *Deekhaure* pt. iii. pp. 121-41. Amenophis is presented ten times. Horus and Isis five times, Osiris and Athor four, Set, Thot, Ma-Sabak and Ma-Maat, the two, together with Maat, once.

² Breasted, *History of Egypt*, vol. iii., p. 40.

at the age of ten or twelve,¹ Seti had him crowned as king, and admitted him, at first to a nominal, and afterwards to a real, participation in the government.² The two appear to have borne each other a true affection; no jealousy clouded their relations; each speaks of the other with tenderness and real regard; and the son carries on with pious care all the great works left incomplete by the father.

The chronology of the two reigns has been confused and complicated by the fact of the association. It is uncertain in what year of his reign Seti made Rameses joint ruler,³ and still more uncertain how long the joint reign continued. Seti's thirtieth and Rameses sixty-seventh year are mentioned upon the monuments,⁴ which also tells us that Rameses was ten years old when he was associated. These are all the trustworthy data,⁵ and it results from them that the probable period occupied by the two reigns was about eighty years; Seti reigning twelve years alone, and an unknown number, not less than eighteen, in conjunction with

¹ An inscription quoted by Brugsch (*History of Egypt* vol. 6, p. 24) says that when raised to be a prince of this and when then a youth was considered, only ten years. But Brugsch himself says that when Rameses I ascended the throne he must have been about twelve years old, or a little more (vol. p. 25).

² At first Rameses says he was 'left in the hands of the warriors of the royal establishment, after he came to the throne of the young king' (*History of Egypt* vol. ii, p. 24). It is not long, as a possible function was assigned him (ibid. vol. ii, p. 24).

³ He would not do this so early as possible.

If he married her soon after his accession and she bore him Rameses in the course of the next year, he could have associated that prince as early as his eighth year.

⁴ Lepsius, *Monum. d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 472. Brugsch *History of Egypt* vol. ii, p. 15. *Great Ancient Kings*, 12.

⁵ Maughold says that Seti's original elevation is to be ascertained by the chronology of the reigns of Seti and Rameses II. says one or sixty six years (ibid.), but little weight. He may, however, have been right in dealing with regard to Rameses.

Rameses, while the latter reigned as sole monarch for a long term of years after his father's death.

The full title under which the son and successor of Sen I. designated himself upon his monuments was Ita-uer-ma Setep-en-re Ramesse Meriamu,¹

(), (), thus elabo-

rate and complete, had by this time become the royal designation. According to the theory, in a certain sense, at the age of ten, as became early accustomed to command, took part in the business of the state, had a body guard and his orders, and directed the construction of important buildings.² As his father grew old and infirm, the conduct of affairs passed more and more into his hands, until at last probably when he was about twenty-eight years old—he entered upon the full sovereignty.

The greater son of a great father, Rameses II. is of all the Egyptian kings the one whose fame has extended itself the most widely, and whose actions have received the largest amount of attention. This has arisen, in part, from the enormous number and striking character of his monuments, in part, from the favour in which he was held by the Egyptian priests and the exaggerated representations which they gave of his warlike achievements.³ In reality, he does not appear to have shown any remarkable military genius, or to have effected any important conquests. One great war occupied him for

¹ See Chabas, *Recherches*, &c., p. 70, and compare Lepsius, *Aegyptische Zeit.* 1831 N. 420. The names were spelt in a great variety of ways, as may be seen in the next and next work, Tables XXX and XXXI.

² See Brugsch, *History of Egypt*,

vol. ii. p. 24.

³ In proof of this, see especially Table No. 31 (60). The entire series of conquests assigned even credit to him by the Greeks seems not to have been taken over by the reformers (Germanus).

many years; and, though in the course of it he no doubt performed several brilliant exploits, yet the final result was one of which Egypt had no cause to boast. The empire attacked stood firm, and the war was concluded by a treaty, of which the great principle is the exact equality and perfectly correspondent obligations of the two contracting powers.¹ The other wars which occasionally occurred him were trivial, and there is no evidence that even they brought any accession of territory to Egypt. Indeed, it would almost seem that his object in making war was rather to obtain captives than to extend his dominions, his predominant desire being to distinguish himself as a bolder, and the services of vast bodies of foreign mercenaries being necessary to carry out his numerous and gigantic projects.²

The first campaigns of Rameses II. were directed against the negroes and Ethiopians.³ The writer⁴ tells us that he 'pushed his arms much further into Upper Ethiopia and the Soudan than any of his predecessors'; but proof of this superior energy is scarcely forthcoming, and on the whole it would seem that the southern expeditions of the son of Seti were rather razas, resulting in the capture of large numbers of the unfortunate blacks, than real military operations.⁵ Besides slaves, tribute and plunder were no doubt obtained in large quantities; and Egypt was enriched by the spoils of Ethiopia, which included gold, ivory, ebony, fruits of various kinds, leopard's skins, lions, panthers, gazelles and other antelopes, grasses, and ostriches.⁶

Soon afterwards occurred the first Syrian war of

¹ See below, p. 310.

² *Ibid.* vol. i., p. 312. *Ibid.* vol.

³ Breasted, *History of Egypt*, vol. i., pp. 106-7.

⁴ Breasted, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii., p. 76.

⁵ Birlé, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 110.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 77. Compare Birlé, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 120.

⁷ Wilkinson in the author's *Illustrations*.

Rameses. The details of this campaign are wanting, but a rock tablet at the Nahr-el Kelti, set up in his 25th year¹ indicates his personal presence on the occasion, and was erected as a token of victory. Three years later took place the second invasion. Kintus r., the son of Maribus, and grandson of Saphé, the adversary of Rameses I., was now probably at the head of the Hittites,² and had succeeded in effecting a league of the Western Asiatic nations against Egypt, which threatened serious consequences. Already had Seta, alarmed at the menacing combination, commenced a defensive work upon his eastern frontier,³ probably not long before his decease. Rameses, with the arkhai and a plenty of youth, preferring attack to defence, in the fifth year of his sole reign⁴ collected a vast army, and quitting Egypt marched 'by the path of the desert along the roads of the north.'⁵ Kintus r. aware of his movements, summoned his allies to his aid—the peoples of Nubiatu, Kharabu, Carchemish, the Maas, Aratu, Patasu, Kati, Leka (Lyons⁶), and others⁶—and took up a position near Kadesb, his capital city, which was situated on an island in the Orontes.⁷ The host was so numerous that it is said 'Their number was endless; nothing like it had ever been before, they covered the mountains and the valleys like grass-

¹ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. I. p. 54, 1st ed.

² See *Diary of the Past*, vol. I. p. 28. Rameses does not give the name of his adversary in the great Hittite war, and it is possible that Seta had not yet ascended the throne.

³ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 125.

⁴ Ibid. I. 1. Compare Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. I. p. 50, 1st ed.

⁵ See the 'Poem of Pothmar,'

as given by Dr. Brugsch (*History of Egypt*, vol. I. p. 54, 1st ed.).

⁶ *Records of the Past*, vol. I. p. 60. The names are—Kharabu, the people of the Maas, Maratu, Aratu, and those of Nubiatu, Kharabu, Patasu, the Leka are thought by Dr. Brugsch to be the Lyones, who are probably father or only son, the present name of Aleppo.

⁷ See above, p. 328.

hoppers for their number.¹ Khatasir, however, was unwilling to trust to mere numbers, and formed a scheme for deceiving Rameses as to the disposition of his troops, and so bringing him into difficulties. He sent out spies,² who pretended to be deserters from his army, and instructed them to say, if they were questioned, that he had broken up from Kadesh on hearing of the Egyptian advance, and had marched away to Kharabu (Aqko), which lay far to the north. The spies fulfilled their mission, but on being examined by scouting they failed in fortitude, and confessed the truth that Khatasir, instead of having withdrawn to Kharabu, was lying in wait to the north-west of Kadesh, hoping to fall unexpectedly on the flank of the Egyptians, if they believed the spies' tale and hurried forward on the site of his supposed retreat. Foiled in his crafty scheme, Khatasir could do nothing but quit his ambush and march openly against the Egyptians, with his troops marshalled in exact and orderly array, the Hittite chariots in front with their lines carefully dressed, and the auxiliaries and regulars on the flanks and rear.³ Rameses had divided his host into four portions.⁴ He himself, with the brigade of Ammon, marched down the left bank of the river, while two brigades, those of Phthah and Ra, proceeded along the right bank, the division of Ptahhotep in the centre, that of Hui in one way to the eastward.⁵ The

¹ See the 'Poem of Pentamer' (Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, &c.).

² The story of the spies is told in an interesting fragment of the time of the Hittite and transmitted by Dr Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, pp. 50-2, 1st ed.

³ Ibid. p. 47.

⁴ *Records of the Past* vol. ii, p. 106, 1st ed.

⁵ Brugsch, *Hist. of Egypt* vol. ii, p. 51, 1st ed. In regarding the battle of Kadesh, I am, throughout, following the authority of Dr Birch taken a somewhat different view of the arrangement (*Annals of Egypt*, pp. 128-31).

position of the brigade of Net is not distinctly marked. It may have started for Klumbu before the falsity of the spies' tale was detected, or it may have acted as a rearguard to the whole army, and have been posted at some distance behind the other corps. At any rate, it took no part in the battle. Kintasir commenced the fight by a flank movement to the left, which enabled him to fall on the brigade of Ramses as it was upon its march, alone and unsupported. His attack was unexpected and was irresistible; 'foot and horse gave way before him,'¹ the division was utterly routed, and either driven from the field or cut to pieces. Intelligence of the complete defeat of his right wing having been received by Rameses, who had now reached the position occupied at the beginning of the day by Kintasir, he set his brigade in motion, at right angles to their previous course, eastward, but before he could reach the Orontes, the enemy, who must have crossed the river, were upon him, and the two hosts charged each other at full speed with desperate courage. The chariot of Rameses, skilfully guided by his squire, Minna, seems to have broken through the front line of the Hittite chariot force; but his brethren in arms were less fortunate; and Rameses found himself separated from his army, behind the front line and confronted by the second line of the hostile chariots, in a position of the greatest possible danger.² Then began that Homeric combat, which the Egyptians were never tired of celebrating, between a single warrior on the one hand, and the host of the Hittites, reckoned at 2,500

¹ *Records of the Past*, vol. ii. p. 46, l. 4.

² This seems to me the only reasonable account of the position,

in which Rameses found himself, but it must be confessed that Pen-tasour's narrative is here very hazy.

chariots, on the other, in which Rameses, like Diomed or Achilles, carried death and destruction whithersoever he turned himself. 'I became like the god Mentu,' he is made to say; 'I hurled the dart with my right hand; I fought with my left hand, I was like Baal in our time before their sight; I had come upon 2,500 pairs of horses, I was in the midst of them, but they were dashed in pieces before my steeds. Not one of them raised his hand to fight; their courage was smitten in their breasts; their limbs gave way, they could not hurl the dart, nor had they strength to thrust with the spear. I made them fall into the waters like crocodiles; they tumbled down on their faces one after another. I killed them at my pleasure, so that not one looked back behind him, nor did any turn round. Each fell, and none raised himself up again.'¹

The temporary isolation of Rameses, which is the gist of the heroic poem of Pentaur, and which the king himself recorded over and over again upon the walls of his magnificent shrines,² must no doubt be regarded as a fact, but it is not likely to have continued for more than a few minutes. When his companions found that he was lost to their sight, they would have made the most frantic efforts to recover him, dead or alive; and if his own prowess at all resembled the description given of it, the Hittites must have been speedily thrown into such confusion that it would have been easy for the Egyptians to come to his aid. Chariot, no doubt, quickly followed him through the front line of the Hittite force, the second line was

¹ Brugsch, *History of Egypt, Ancienne*, vol. i. p. 411, Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 42, 1st ed.
² Lohrmann, *Manuel d'Histoire* ad.

crushed and defeated, soon the confusion became general. A headlong flight carried the entire host to the banks of the Orontes, into which some precipitated themselves, while others were forced into the water by their pursuers. The king of Khirabn was among the latter, and was with difficulty drawn out by his friends, exhausted and half dead, when he reached the eastern shore.¹ But the great bulk of the Hittite army perished, either in the battle or in the river. Among the killed and wounded were Gribatusa, the charioteer of Khitasr, Tarkennas, the commander of the cavalry, Rabsura, another general, Kimpusar, a royal secretary, and Matsurana, a brother of the Hittite king.²

On the day which followed the battle Khassu sent a humble embassy to the camp of his adversary to implore for peace.³ His messenger was received with favour. Though it does not appear that any formal treaty was made, or any definite engagements entered into by the Hittite leader, yet Rameses consented not to press upon the vanquished monarch, but to withdraw his army and return to Egypt. It is possible that his victory had cost him dear, and that, until he had levied a new force, he was in no condition to venture further from his resources or to affront new perils.

The Syrian expeditions of Rameses II. did not terminate with the battle of Kadesh, or with his fifty years. On the contrary, they continued certainly till his eighth year,⁴ and possibly till his twenty-first,

¹ See the *Deutscher*, pt. vi. pls. 101b and 100. Compare *Brugsch History of Egypt* vol. ii. p. 42, 1st ed.

² Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 121.

³ See the *Plates of Cartonnage* in *Brugsch's History*, vol. i. pp. 601, 1st ed. According to this

writer there was a short respite of the hostilities in the morning, or rather a suspension of the hostilities after which Khassu, at the request of his viceroy, sent the embassy.

⁴ *Brugsch's History of Egypt* vol. ii. p. 64 1st ed. Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 122.

when a formal treaty of peace was concluded with the Hittites. It is difficult to determine how far during this period he carried his arms into Asia, or what extent of territory he traversed with his armies. We have no distinct evidence of any expeditions having penetrated further at this time than Northern Palestine,¹ unless it be on one occasion, when 'Timp in the land of Nigarrin' was attacked and taken.² But the reputation which Ramses left behind him of a warrior king,³ the title of A-nekhtu or 'Conqueror' which he bore,⁴ and the general claims to victory and success contained in his inscriptions, are thought to imply that the limits of the Egyptian power established by Thutmose III. were still in a certain sense maintained and vindicated during his reign,⁵ Mesopotamia still paying tribute, and receiving Egyptian residents, if not even Egyptian garrisons, and the chiefs even of such a distant place as Singara being still content to be regarded as Egyptian subjects.⁶ But, whatever vestige remained of the old period of glory and dominion, it cannot be seriously doubted that the real power of Egypt had now considerably declined,⁷ the bonds of subjection were much less strict than under Thutmose III., prudential motives constrained the Egyptians to be content with very much less—with such acknow-

¹ The place attacked and taken in the eighth year after Senusert III. was in the Jordan valley, El-Dabab at the foot of Mount Taurus. Manu of Mount Bethanai. See Ainslie's inscriptions, and see also the inscriptions of the same king.

² Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. pp. 634, 1st ed.

³ *ibid.* Ann. ii. 191.

⁴ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 63, 1st ed.

⁵ Lencornant, *Mémoires d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i. p. 121.

⁶ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 63, 1st ed. The true location of Singara is at once known. I have supposed it to be Samarra, as it is the only city in the north of Egypt. I think there can be no doubt that it was so. Manu's inscription.

⁷ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 120.

ledgments as satisfied their vanity rather than with the exercise of a real power.¹

The treaty concluded with the Hittites is a strong indication of the changed circumstances of Egypt, and her inability to maintain the dominant position which she had reached under Thutmose. It was, as already observed,² based upon the principle of an exact equality between the two high contracting powers. Kamose was termed 'the great king of Khita, the powerful,' Rameses 'the great ruler of Egypt, the powerful.' The genealogy of each was reckoned back to his grandfather. Both parties engaged reciprocally for their sons and their sons' sons. Friendship was pledged by the following formula: 'He shall be my ally; he shall be my friend; I will be his ally; I will be his friend for ever.' The stipulations of the alliance were throughout mutual. The king of the Khita engaged under no circumstances to invade the land of Egypt, and the king of Egypt engaged under no circumstances to invade the land of the Khita. Each bound himself, if the other were attacked, either to come in person, or to send his forces, to the other's assistance. Each pledged himself to the extradition both of criminals fleeing from justice, and of any other subjects wishing to transfer their allegiance. Each at the same time stipulated for an amnesty of offenders in case of all persons thus surrendered. The treaty was placed under the protection of the gods of the two countries, who were invoked respectively to protect observers and punish infringers of it.³

¹ Lebonnant loc.

² *Id.* *supra*, p. 703.

³ For a condensed account of the treaty, see *Records of the Past*, vol. v., pp. 37-32. The full text is given by Brugsch *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. pp. 68-74, at col. II. It is a mistake, however, of this writer to

It is evident that the acknowledgment of the Hittite power and the engagements to respect its territorial limits and defend it against foreign attack constituted an effectual bar to the extension of Egyptian influence in Asia, and very nearly cut Egypt off from her possessions on and beyond the Euphrates. Little more than a nominal subjection of dependencies so remote could remain, when almost the whole of the intermediate country¹ was relinquished to a rival power. The Hittite empire must at this time have presented itself to the Mesopotamian and Syrian nations as that which was in the ascendant, and which policy required them to court. Egypt's day must have appeared to be past, and the smaller states of Western Asia must have begun to gravitate to the new centre.

A conspicuous evidence of the altered condition of things, strongly indicative of the great advance of the Hittite power, was the marriage of Rameses, in the thirty-fourth year of his sole reign, to the daughter of Khatasar, and her proclamation as queen consort by the name, which she must have newly taken, of Ur-mia-nefu-ra. 'The prince of Kbita, clad in the dress of his country, himself conducted the bride to the palace of his son-in-law,'² and, after receiving hospitable entertainment, returned to his own land. It would seem that the princess had captivated the heart of the susceptible monarch by her remarkable beauty on an occasion when she had come forward in her own country to plead the cause of some captives

rel the treaty an 'offence' and 'Jefuaya asahra,' which union for offence purposes is certainly not contemplated.

¹ The geographical position of the Hittite country cut off Egypt

from Mesopotamia unless by the line of Damascus and Tadmor, which is only fitted to be a caravan route.

² Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 76, 1st ed.

whom he was incensed to treat harshly. She stood forward at their head, to soften the heart of King Ramesses—a great inextinguishable wonder—not knowing the impression which her beauty made upon him.¹ The fascination of unconscious loveliness is always great, and Ramesses was apparently induced to seek the hand of the Hittite princess by the feelings which were called forth on this occasion.

Besides his great Asiatic war, to which the Hittite treaty put a happy termination, Ramesses conducted a certain number of campaigns in the south and in the east. In the south he had for enemies the Cushites and the negroes, in the west the Tabanna and the Mashoush or Maxyes.² In both quarters he claims successes; but they do not appear to have been very decisive. In Northern Africa the power of the Maxyes was certainly not broken, for we shall find them in the ensuing reign taking the offensive and invading Egypt in force,³ and on the Upper Nile only small and insignificant tribes—the Anatom, the Helan, the Imda, the Fataun, and the Hetan⁴ were subjugated. The boundaries of Egypt received no important enlargement in either quarter, nor were her Asiatic losses compensated for by African gains.

One, and perhaps the main, result of all the military operations in which Ramesses II. employed himself for so many years, was the acquisition of many thousands of captives, some Asiatic, some African—swart negroes from the Soudan, Ethiopians of equal blackness but of a higher type, blue-eyed fair haired Marmarade,

¹ See the inscription given by Brugsch, *History of Egypt* vol. ii. p. 56, 1st ed. and Steph. Brn. ad voc.

² I. E. A. pp. 250, 253.

³ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 77, 1st ed.

⁴ On this people see Herod. iv. 101, and compare Hecst. Fr. 304.

light-red beardless Khita, like Arabs, heavily-framed Haten with black beards and features of a Jewish cast,¹ Khartu, Leka, Nabiri, Maxyes—carried off from their homes by the grasping conqueror, whose wars were undertaken as much with the object of making prisoners as from any higher consideration. During his early years Asa furnished the bulk of these unfortunates. Later, when his Asiatic wars were terminated—if we may trust M. Lenormant—man-hunts were organised upon a monstrous scale throughout the whole country of the Soukar, a scale quite unknown at any former period. The war was no longer, as under the Ethiopians and the Amenhoteps, to extend on this side the frontiers of the Egyptian empire, so as to absorb the countries which furnished ivory and gold dust. The principal (or *iso to speak*) sole object was to obtain slaves. Nearly every year there were great razzas, which started from Ethiopia, and returned dragging after them thousands of captive blacks of all ages and both sexes, laden with chains. And the principal episodes of these negro-hunts were sculptured upon the walls of temples as glorious exploits!²

In connection with this constant introduction of large bodies of foreigners into Egypt, Rameses devised or adopted the plan,³ so familiar to Asiatic conquerors in later times, of transporting his prisoners enormous distances, and settling them in those portions of his empire which were most remote from their original abodes. Whole tribes of negroes were removed from

¹ See the frontispiece to Brugsch's *History*, vol. i. 1st ed., where it is cast of countenance in very noticeable style.

² Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i. pp. 423-4.

³ Lenormant says (loc. cit.) that he was the first to introduce the system, but I have already shown reason for thinking that he was anticipated in the adoption of it by his grandfather (*supra* p. 226.)

the Soudan into Asia; Libyans and Asiatics were planted upon the Upper Nile.* Flight and escape became in this way impossible, and even the yearning after a lost home tended, in course of time, to die away through the well-known immobility of the human mind to accept the inevitable.

It was, of course, in connection with his passion for 'great works' that Rameses desired and obtained this vast addition to the store of 'naked human strength',¹ which on his accession he inherited from his progenitors. In the earlier times the kings had employed the great mass of their subjects in those vast constructions by which they had striven to immortalise their names.² But with the growth of civilisation new ideas had sprung up. Some regard had come to be had for the feelings and the wishes of the lower orders,³ and if the means of forced labour still legally lay upon them,⁴ practically it was now well-nigh a thing of the past, and no longer an actual grievance. Slaves, captives, and subject races, not of Egyptian blood, were at this period, the material to which kings bent upon raising great works looked for the execution of their grand projects. Of subject races there seem to have been several in Egypt under Rameses, the principal being the Sardinians or Sardana, the Apurians or Aperu, and the Hittites. Of these, the Sardinians were employed principally as auxiliary troops,⁵ while the other two, if they were really distinct,⁶ formed the main

* Brugsch *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 100. 1st ed. Birch, *Ancient Egypt* p. 124.

¹ Grote, *History of Greece*, ch. xii. (1st ed.) p. 475, edit. of 1862.

² *Supra* p. 51.

³ See *Records of the Past* vol. ii. pp. 11-12, and compare *above*,

pp. 140-7.

⁴ As would appear by the letter of Amenemhat to P-nimour, quoted *above* vol. i. p. 4-5.

⁵ *Transactions of Society of Bibl. Archaeology*, vol. i. pp. 357, 359, and 367.

⁶ This is a point on which much

sources from which forced labour was drawn by the monarchs.¹ We know that the Hebrews at the time of the Exodus numbered 600,000 adult males;² the Apurim, if a distinct race, may have been not much less numerous; and it is a not unreasonable conjecture,³ that in the time of Rameses II. the subject races and newly made captives together amounted to a full third of the population. Thus the Pharaoh had an abundant stock of raw material on which to draw, without putting any pressure on his native subjects, or even seriously affecting the general labour-market.

The great works of Rameses Meriamen may be divided under the two heads of works of utility and of ornament. To the former class belong his 'Great Work, his canal from the Nile to the Red Sea, and his numerous cities; to the latter, his temples, his colossal statues, his obelisks, and his tomb. The Great Wall, commenced by his father, Set.,⁴ extended from Pelusium to Behopolis,⁵ a direct distance of ninety miles, and was strengthened at intervals by the establishment of fortresses upon its line, the 'treasure cities,' or 'store cities, mentioned in the book of Exodus as built by the oppressed Israelites, being, as is generally thought,⁶ among their number. The construction of this work is a strong indication of the decline in her

has been written. M. Chabas regards the identity of the Apurim with the Hebrews as certain (*Mémoires Egyptologiques* ii. p. 345, *Recherches pour servir à l'histoire de la Haute Égypte*, pp. 180, 181). Dr Brugsch (*History of Egypt* vol. i. pp. 12-6, 1st ed.), Dr Ebers (*Die Tempelruinen der Aegypten*, vol. i. pp. 361-7) and M. Maspero are of the directly con-

trary opinion. Dr Birch throws a doubt on the identification (*Ancient Egypt*, p. 128).

¹ Brugsch, *History of Egypt* vol. ii. p. 84, 1st ed. Ex. i. 11-14.

² Ex. xii. 37.

³ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 100, 1st ed.

⁴ See above, p. 304.

⁵ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 125.

⁶ *Ibid.* Compare Ex. i. 11.

military power on which Egypt was now entering¹—a decline which, in spite of a few exceptionally brilliant periods, must be considered to have set in from this reign.

The 'Great Canal'—perhaps, like the 'Wadi', commenced by Sen²—is proved by the ruins upon its banks to have been in the main the work of Ramesses³. It was, no doubt, provided with locks and sluices⁴ as was the canal which led the Nile water into the Fiumara; and in this way the difficulties connected with the changes at Suez and the variations in the level of the Nile at Bubastis were met and overcome. Ptolemy perhaps kept the western end of the canal open, and prevented it from being silted up by the Nile mud, but when troubles came, this practice was neglected, and the channel soon became unusable. Communication with the Red Sea lakes had from time to time to be reopened, and Neco, Darius, Hystaspis⁵, Ptolemy I., Trajan, and the Caliph Omar⁶ are especially mentioned as having applied themselves to the work of re-establishing the waterway. Various points of departure from the course of the Nile were taken at different periods, the latest being at Bellows, which is about eleven miles south of Bubastis (now 'Tel-Basta').

Among the cities built by Ramesses II., or so enlarged as to be considered his work, were Tanis—the great city of the Delta—which he made his capital,⁷ Pa-Ramesu, which is probably the Ramesses of

¹ Leontineus, *Memoria d'Historie* and ed.

Ancient Egypt, vol. i. pp. 128-8, 129-30.

Ancient Egypt, p. 129. Bousset.

History of Egypt, vol. i. p. 131.

130-1.

² See above p. 207.

³ Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 203, note 2.

⁴ Ibid. p. 206, note 2.

⁵ Herod. ii. 100.

⁶ See the account of M. Rieu in

the *Journal de l'Égypte*, with

quoting, vol. i. pp. 130-3.

⁷ Bousset, *History of Egypt*,

ii. pp. 40 and 103, 104.

Exodus, Pa-tam (Tatamas or Pithom, identified by Dr Birch with Heroopolis); Pa-plutah, at Gerf Hussein in Nubia; Pa-minon at Sebua, in the same country, and Pa-ra, near Der or Durr, above Kerosko¹. The new Tanis was situated at some little distance from the old one, where the shepherd kings had resided, and was adorned with numerous temples and obelisks, fragments of which still strew the site. A contemporary of the son of Sen thus describes the place.² 'So I arrived at the city of Hanesu Menamen, and found it admirable, for nothing on the Theban land and soil can compare with it. Here is the seat of the court. The place is pleasant to live in; its fields are full of good things; and life here passes in constant plenty and abundance. The canals are rich in fish, the lakes swarm with birds; the meadows are green with vegetables; there is no end of the lentils, melons with a taste like honey grow in the irrigated gardens. The bars are full of wheat and durra, and reach as high as heaven. Onions and grapes grow in the enclosures, and the apple-tree blossoms among them. The vine, the almond-tree, and the fig-tree are found in the orchards. The red fish is common in the long-canal; the Bori-fish in the ponds, many varieties of the same, together with carp and pike &c., in the canal of Pa-karotha, fat fish and Khup-jentra fish are to be found in the pools of the inundation, and the Hauz-fish in the full mouth of the Nile, near the City of the Conqueror. The city canal Psent-er produces salt, the lake region of Patur-natron Sea-

¹ Brugsch pp. 30, 38-9, &c., *Records of the Past*, vol. vi pp. 24-5. Dr Birch, *Ancient Egypt* pp. 24-5. Dr Brugsch is here

² See also Letter of Pausanias, *History of Egypt* vol. ii pp. 36-8, translated by Mr Goodwin in the 1st ed.

going ships enter the harbour: plenty and abundance are perpetual.*

The most remarkable of the temples created by Rameses are the building in Thebes, once called the Memnonium, but now commonly known as the Ramesseum (which has been already described in the first volume of this work),¹ and the extraordinary rock-temple of Ipsambul or Abu Simbel, the most magnificent specimen of its class which the world contains. The façade is formed by four huge colossi, each seventy feet in height, representing Rameses himself, seated on a throne, with the double crown of Egypt upon his head.² In the centre, flanked on either side by two of these gigantic figures, is a doorway of the usual Egyptian type, opening into a small vestibule, which communicates by a short passage with the main chamber. This is an oblong square, sixty feet long by forty-five, divided into a nave and two aisles by two rows of square piers with Osiri statues thirty feet high in front, and ornamented with painted sculptures over its whole surface.³ The main chamber leads into an inner shrine, or adytum, supported by four piers without Osiri figures, but otherwise as richly adorned as the outer apartment. Behind the adytum are small rooms for the priests who served in the temple. It is the façade of the work which constitutes its main beauty. 'What shall we say,' observes a modern traveller,⁴ 'of the rock-temple of Ipsambul, the won-

* See above, vol. i. pp. 220-1.

¹ For representations see the *Denkmaeler*, pt. iii. pl. 145 b, and *Illustrations Egypt and Nubia*, vol. i. vignette on the page.

² *Denkmaeler*, pt. iii. pls 145 et seqq.

³ Brugsch, *Hist. of Egypt*, vol. ii.

pp. 187-1, 189. In his concluding sentence the writer appears to have forgotten that his own glory was, at any rate, the least thing sought by Rameses in his erection of this edifice. Four columns of himself form the façade, and in the interior he associates himself as a god

derful façade of which surpasses everything which our imagination can conceive of grandeur in a human work? How small, how insignificant, appear, in comparison with it, the petty erections of our day! There, in Nubia, on a solitary wall of rock, far removed from the dwellings of men, in hoary antiquity a temple was hewn to the great gods of the land of Egypt . . . hewn as if by *enchantment*—for this is the proper word—so bold, so powerful, so exceeding all human measure, as if gods had turned the bare rock into a living work of art! Standing before this work, achieved by the hands of men, the thoughtful child of our modern age first feels the greatness of antiquity in its all-powerful might. It was not clever calculation, not profit, nor utility, but the most elevated feeling of gratitude to God, that caused such a work to be executed; a work worthy of and fit for the immortal, unchangeable, almighty Deity, to whom the ancients dedicated it in high veneration for the Everlasting and the Incomprehensible! After this, the judgment of the learned historian of architecture may perhaps seem tame; but its sobriety gives it a weight which is scarcely accorded to the best assorted collection of rhetorical phrases by the modern reader. ‘The largest of the rock temples at Ipsambul,’ says Mr. Ferguson,¹ ‘is the finest of its class known to exist anywhere. Externally, the façade is about a hundred feet in height, and adorned by four of the most magnificent colossi in Egypt, each seventy feet in height, and representing the king, Rameses II., who caused the exca-

with Annum, Ptah, and Horus (Leidenman pt. iii. pl. 180 c. Hengsch History of Egypt, vol. ii. p. 91, 1st ed.) We cannot ascribe to him any very elevated or intense religious feeling.
¹ History of Architecture, vol. i. p. 113, 1st ed.

vision to be made. It may be because they are more perfect than any other now found in that country, but certainly nothing can exceed their own majesty and beauty, or be more entirely free from the vulgarity and exaggeration which is generally a characteristic of colossal works of this sort.

Among the other great works of this great king were the completion of the 'Hall of Columns' at Karnak, of the temple begun by Sen at A'vies,² and of that finished but left very imperfect by Amenhotep III. at Luxor,³ the addition of pylons and colossi to the great temple of Ptah at Memphis,⁴ and the entire construction of new temples at Memphis, Heliopolis, Tanis, Beit-el Wakh, Der, Gorf Hussein, and elsewhere.⁵ At Karnak there is also 'a small but beautiful example, belonging to the age of Ramesses II., and remarkable for the beauty of its sculptured bas-reliefs, as well as for the bold Ptolemaic columns which adorn its vestibule.'⁶ In Nubia, Ramesses introduced the practice of excavating the cells of the temples in the rock, and adding in front of the cells structural buildings consisting of courts and propylæa—a combination which is extremely effective, since thus 'the sanctuary has all the impenetrability and mystery of a cave,' while the remainder of the temple has at the same time the ample space, free play of light, and architectural effect of a building standing in the open air.⁷

¹ Ferguson, *History of Architecture*, vol. i. p. 107. Birch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 50, 1st ed.

² See the account introduced by Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. pp. 4, 12, 1st ed.

³ Birch, *History of Egypt*, p. 157. Ferguson, *History of Architecture*,

vol. i. p. 110, 1st ed.

⁴ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 107, 1st ed.

⁵ Ibid. pp. 100, 101, 102, 104, &c.

⁶ Ferguson, *History of Architecture*, vol. i. p. 111, 1st ed.

⁷ Ibid. pp. 112-13.

In the ornamentation of his buildings, Rameses especially affected the employment of obelisks and colossal obelisks, which have ceased to exist, at one of his Sun-temples at Heliopolis;¹ and two magnificent ones were added under his auspices to the Luxor edifice,² one of which has long attracted the admiration of all beholders in the commanding position which it now occupies on the Place de la Concorde at Paris. This monument, as measured by the French engineers,³ had an elevation of eighty-two feet, and is exquisitely carved and proportioned. It is of a beautiful pink Syenite granite, and is covered with inscriptions, which have been recently translated by M. Chabas.⁴

The most imposing of all the colossi of Rameses, and indeed, of all existing colossi, are those four giant forms already described⁵ which guard the portal of the great rock temple of Ipsambul. These, however, are not, strictly speaking, statues, but figures carved in the rock. Of actual statues the largest which can be definitely ascribed to Rameses II. is that warrior of the torso remains in the ruins of the Ramesseum, an image of his majesty, which was originally fifty-four feet high, and weighed nearly one hundred tons.⁶ Dr Brugsch believes it to have been one of a pair, carved to adorn the entrance-court of that magnificent edifice.⁷ Another colossus of large dimensions was erected by Rameses in the temple of Ptah at Memphis, and is now lying, prostrate and mutilated, amid the ruins of that struc-

¹ Brugsch *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 41, let. c.

² *Ibid.* p. 81.

³ See also *Inscriptions de l'Égypte*,

⁴ *Artémius*, vol. i. p. 221. Mr. Forster, however, makes its height 77 ft.

⁵ *History of Architecture*, vol. i. p. 117; M. Chabas chiefly agrees in it.

with this measurement; *Records of the Past*, vol. ix. p. 171.

⁶ *Records of the Past*, vol. ix. p. 19-24.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 318.

⁸ See also vol. i. p. 123.

⁹ *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 50.

ture, near the modern Arab village of Mitrabenny.¹ This also represented the king himself. Coossal in Seth, his father, were erected by him at Abydos, Memphis, and Thebes;² and smaller ones of his favourite wife and some of his daughters have been found at Mitrabenny, a little below the surface of the soil.³ Coossal images of gods cut in the native rock, elaborately painted, ornament the interior of the greater Ipsambul temple,⁴ while the facade of the smaller one exhibits six rock-cut figures of great size, four representing Ramesses himself, and two his queen, Nefertari-Metechamut.⁵

The Semitic blood which flowed in the veins of Ramesses⁶ shewed itself alike in his physiognomy and in his actions. He seems to have been the handsomest of all the Egyptian kings. A good forehead, a large well formed slightly up line nose, a well shaped mouth with lips not too full, and a thoughtful pensive eye, constitute an *ensemble* which, if not flawless, is at any rate vastly superior to the ordinary royal type in Egypt, and would attract attention among any series of kings.⁷ Much physical vigour accompanied this beauty of face. Ramesses was the father of fifty-one sons and sixty daughters,⁸ many of whom, he owed, his great natural strength enabling him, despite the strain which he put upon it by his active life and general habits, to attain almost to the full term of life

¹ Bunsen, *Hist. of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 44.
² Ibid. vol. ii. p. 44, 45, &c.

³ Ibid. pp. 47-48.
⁴ See the *Denkmalen* pt. iii. p. 100.

⁵ Also compare Bunsen, *History of Egypt* vol. ii. p. 44, 45.
⁶ See the *Denkmalen* pt. iii. p. 100.

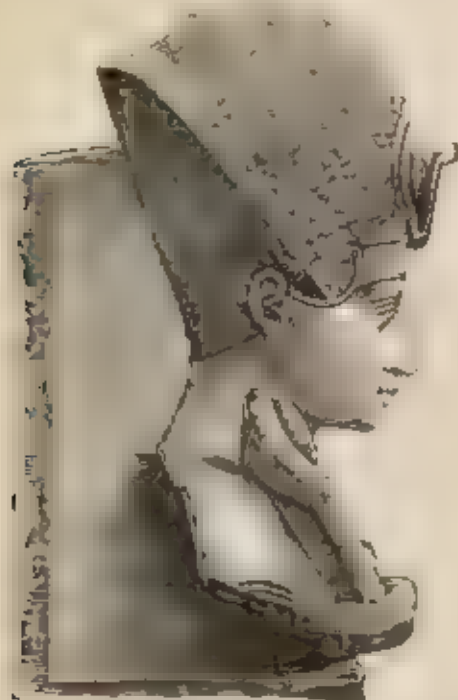
⁷ See also p. 100.

⁸ Lucan says, *fastid. Egypt*, p.

129. Ramesses exhibits all the features of an *Asiatic* type, but no trace of the *Asiatic* type of the kings of the *Asiatic* dynasty. But no trace of the *Asiatic* type of the kings of the *Asiatic* dynasty. But no trace of the *Asiatic* type of the kings of the *Asiatic* dynasty.

⁹ See also *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 111, 112, &c.

assigned to man by the Psalmist.¹ He began to reign, as we have seen,² at the age of ten or twelve, and continued on the throne, according to the express evidence of the monuments,³ sixty-seven years. He



Head of Ramesses II.

thus died at the age of seventy-seven or seventy nine—a length of life which is rarely reached by Orientals.

The large number of his children makes it clear that Ramesses was a polygamist. He appears to have

¹ "Though not so strong that they come to fourscore years." Ps. xc. 10.

² *Supra*, p. 501.

³ De Meuse, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 110, 1st ed.; Lepsius, *Monum.*

Monum. d'Histoire Ancienne, vol. ii. p. 464; *Arch. Ancient Egypt*, p. 124. Here, however, Meuse gave the right number of years (*Fragment Hist. Gr.*, vol. ii. p. 430).

had two principal wives, Isinofert and Neteruara-in-temut,¹ one of whom he may have espoused after the death of the other. He also married, in what we must suppose legitimate nuptials, Neteruara-Urimua, the daughter of the king of the Kenta. Three wives, however, cannot have borne him 119 children between them, and it is thus clear that, besides his wives, he must have maintained a seraglio of concubines, whose number is not likely to have fallen short of twenty.² Such an institution was Semitic, and well known in Asia, but hitherto it had not prevailed in Egypt, where, in no-gamy, always compulsory on private persons,³ had up to this time been practised also by the monarchs.

Of all his sons the one most dear to him was Shabnumis, or Khamus⁴—the child of his favourite queen, Isinofert—who was ‘a learned and pious prince, devoted especially to the religious service of Ptah,’⁵ living mainly in the temple of that god at Memphis, and keeping himself aloof from state affairs ‘more than was quite pleasing to his father.’⁶ This prince was designated as his successor, and in the meantime held the office of high priest of Ptah at Memphis, in which capacity he exerted himself to restore the worship of the holy Apes-bulls—incarnations, as it was believed, of Ptah.⁷—work had taken care to disintegrate. The necropolis of the bulls, the so-called Serapeum,⁸ was

¹ Brugsch *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, Appendix, Table i.

² Ibid. p. 11. This would allow the monarchs an average of five children each, which is not an impossible number.

³ See above, vol. i, p. 155. Also compare Herod. ii. 102, with W. Müller, *Reise nach Aegypten*, Herodotus, i. 1, p. 1, 2nd ed. 11.

⁴ Brugsch uses the former (facient

Egypt, p. 130, Brugsch the latter form. *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 11, loc. cit.

Brugsch loc.

⁶ See above, vol. i, p. 414, note 1.

⁷ Brugsch, *op. cit.* p. 11. The Serapeum was at Memphis. *Ann. d. Monumentes et de Recherches sur les Antiquités de l'Égypte*, p. 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

beautified and enlarged by Shacmans, whose buildings are celebrated in various inscriptions as 'splendid works' deserving of the highest commendation. Unfortunately he died in his father's lifetime, and was thus unable to show what architectural successes he might have achieved if he had had at his disposal the revenues of a kingdom instead of the allowance of an heir apparent.

His affection for his son, and for his two principal wives, shows that the disposition of Rameses II. was in some respects amiable, although upon the whole his character is one which scarcely commends itself to our approval. Professed in his early years extreme devotion to the memory of his father,¹ he lived to show himself his father's worst enemy, and to aim at obliterating his memory by erasing his name from the monuments on which it occurred, and in many cases substituting his own.² Amid a great show of regard for the duties of his country and for the ordinances of the established worship, he contrived that the chief result of all that he did for religion should be the glorification of himself.³ Other kings had arrogated to themselves a certain qualified divinity, and after their deaths had sometimes been placed by some of their successors on a par with the real national gods;⁴ but it remained for Rameses to associate himself during his lifetime with such leading deities as Ptah,




¹ See the inscription on the temple of Amon at Thebes in Brugsch's *History of Egypt*, vol. i, pp. 34-37. In ed. 1, where Rameses says of himself: 'He cannot lead a better being towards his parent and his heart be for him who brought him up' (p. 34). And again: 'The most precious thing to him is the best thing to his father, as a child with a

thrilled breast, whose heart beats for his father, whose joy no heart can run to do what is good for Memphis' (p. 36).

² Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 41, 1st ed.

³ See above, pp. 318-19.

⁴ As *Cononius III.* by Thutmose III. (op. cit. p. 242.)

his father. On his accession he took the throne-name of Hotep-hi-ma,  'He who trusts in truth,' together with the epithets Bn-en-ra,  —, and Meri-amon, . Inheriting from his father an empire which was everywhere at peace with its neighbours, he might have been expected to have had a tranquil and prosperous reign, and to have carried on the burst of intellectual energy which had manifested itself under his father and his grandfather. The power, however, which directs human affairs, wholly disappointed these expectations. The unclouded prospect of his early years gave place, after a brief interval, to storm and tempest of the most fearful kind; a terrible invasion carried fire and sword into the heart of his dominions; and he had scarcely escaped this danger when internal troubles broke out—a subject race, highly valued for the services which it was forced to render assisted in putting the land; a great loss was incurred in an attempt to compel it to remain, rebellion broke out in the south, and the reign, which had commenced under such fair auspices, terminated in calamity and confusion. Menepthah was quite incompetent to deal with the different circumstances in which he found himself placed—he hesitated, temporised, made concessions, retracted them—and finally conducted Egypt to a catastrophe from which she did not recover for a generation.

During his early years Menepthah seems to have remained at peace and quietness, untroubled by discontent at home, unmolested by foreign enemies. At this time he employed himself in further enlarging the cities of New Tanis and Pa-Ramessu,² which had been

¹ *Revue d'Égypte*.

² *Revue d'Égypte*, vol. ii.

³ *Revue d'Égypte*, p. 132, p. 112, 1st ed.

built by his father, and in setting up rock-tablets at Siutis and elsewhere. He also carried on certain minor works in connection with the great temple of Ptah at Memphis, where he set up a statue of himself in black basalt, which is now in the Museum at Berlin.² He nowhere, however, attempted the erection of any great edifice; and it is certainly true to say that he does not rank with those Pharaohs who have transmitted their remembrance to posterity by grand buildings and the construction of new temples, or by the enlargement of such as already existed.³ His monuments are indeed completely insignificant, and, though widely spread and tolerably numerous, have a mean character⁴ about them, which is especially surprising when we compare with them the noble examples recommended by his father and his grandfather. Menephthah evidently did not inherit their ambition. He was not, however, of so elevated a temper as to be free from the blameworthy personal vanity, and this defect in his character led him to be guilty of the meanness of appropriating to himself the works of former kings by the erasure of their names and the substitution of his own⁵—a practice wholly unjustifiable. Such erasures have previously been sometimes made out of hatred and as a punishment, Menephthah made them for the mere purpose of self-glorification, and was indifferent whether he wronged a friend or an enemy.

² See the *Denkmäler*, pt. iii. pl. 200. a.

³ *Annales de l'Institut des Sciences et des Arts de l'Égypte aux temps des Pharaons*, p. 207.

⁴ *See also*, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 235, 1st ed. *Monuments*, &c.

temple by a contrary translation of (*Recherches*, &c., pp. 80-8) compared with the text.

⁵ *Brugsæ*, &c.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 116. Compare *Annales de l'Institut*, &c., p. 212.

The foreign relations of Menephtah were during this period satisfactory. He maintained the alliance with the kings with whom his father had concluded after the close of his great Asiatic war, and strengthened the bonds of amity by allowing corn to be exported from Egypt for the sustentation of the Hittite people¹ when their crops failed them. He received into Egypt as new settlers several tribes of Bedouins,² who were desirous of exchanging their nomadic habits for a more settled life, and established them in the rich lands about the city of Thebes. He retained the foreign conquests of his predecessors in Lower Syria, El-Liban, and Canaan, carefully supervising their administration by means of continual despatches and messengers.³ At the same time he guarded with tolerable efficiency his north-western frontier, prevented any serious irruption of the Libyan tribes, and, up to his full year, succeeded in maintaining general tranquillity and prosperity.

But suddenly, in his 11th year,⁴ he had to meet an important attack. An African chief, Marmari, son of Iahai,⁵ collected a numerous army in the tract adjacent to Egypt upon the north-west, composed in part of native Africans, in part of auxiliaries, and, crossing the Egyptian frontier, carried fire and sword over the western and south-western Delta, even threatening the great cities of Heliopolis and Memphis. His auxiliaries

¹ Chabas, p. 97. Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 126. *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, p. 43.

² Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 127. *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, p. 43.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 126-7. *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, p. 43.

⁴ In the date see Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 126, 127.

and compare his work *On the Libyan Proprietary in the Egyptian Delta* with *Comptes rendus* 1890.

⁵ *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, p. 43. Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 126. Chabas, *Recherches*, &c. p. 90. Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 126. *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, p. 43.

consisted of five principal nations whose names, carefully transliterated from the hieroglyphs, would seem to have been the Akausha, the Tursu, the Laku, the Shartana, and the Nkekusha. It has been proposed to regard these tribes as Caucasian races, who at last came had migrated into Libya, having perhaps been previously prisoners of war, whom Rameses II. had brought from Asia to Egypt in his military expeditions; but the supposed migration has no historical basis. The expectations of Rameses II. never approached the Caucasus, and the names are only with great violence brought into accord with those of Caucasian peoples. A more plausible theory identifies the races with various tribes of Europeans occupying the northern Mediterranean, and supposes the auxiliaries of Merneptah to have come by sea to his aid, and to have designed a permanent settlement in Africa. The names certainly appear at first sight to lend themselves to this view, the resemblances being considerable between Akausha and Achaion, Tursu and Tyrsen or Tusci, Shartana or Shartana and Sardonis, Shekusha and Sikeloi or Siculi; while Laku is not far from Ligyes or Ligures, a people of the western Mediterranean. The first appearance of European races upon the stage of history must have the greatest interest for the modern world, in which Europe plays the first part; and if the identifications of M. de Rouge¹ are allowed, it must be granted that here Europe first steps upon the scene, exhibiting herself as

¹ *Bergsch. History of Egypt*, vol. ii. pp. 115, 416, 417.

² Dr. Bergsch identifies the Akausha with the Achæans of the *Iliad*, the Shartana with the Phœnicians, the Tursu with the Tyrians, the Laku with the Ligures.

He also suggests that the Uashash of the time of Rameses III. are the Etruscans, and the Qasash the Carthaginians. See his *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 424.

³ *Revue Archéologique* for 1847, pp. 107 et seqq.

a great aggressive power in the fourteenth century before our era, a hundred years anterior to the earliest traditional date for the Trojan war,¹ and in the actual lifetime of Moses. So extraordinary a revelation has naturally great attractions for many minds in an age when novelty is more esteemed than sobriety of judgment, if not even than historic truth, and thus M. de Boiges's view has found many advocates among Egyptologists,² and has approved itself to some general scholars of distinguished reputation.³ But the difficulties in the way of its acceptance are great: and perhaps it is probable that the races in question were native African tribes otherwise unknown to us as that they really consisted of the Achæans, Etruscans, Sardinians, Sicilians, and Ligurians of Europe.

We have no estimate left us of the number of the invaders, but it certainly exceeded 20,000, and probably did not fall much short of 40,000 men.⁴ The Libyans, the Maxyes, and the Kahaka, who were Meriamun's subjects, formed the main bulk of the force, contingents of no great size being furnished by the Akusha, Tursha, Leka, Sharruna, and Sektosia, who were not his subjects, but foreign mercenaries.⁵ The attack seems to have been made towards the apex

¹ The date of Menesphthah is probably about B.C. 1400. The Trojan war took place about B.C. 1250 according to Herodotus, Thucydides, and the author of the *Life of Homer*.

² As M. Chabas, *Études sur l'Antiquité égyptienne*, pp. 187, 194, and Kocher has pointed out in *Historie de l'Égypte*, p. 84. Leconte de Lisle, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 400, Barb., *Ancient Egypt*, p. 130, &c.

³ See Mr. Gilmont's *Juventus Mundi*, p. 44, and his *Historie Synchronisme*, pp. 133, 43.

⁴ As the slain and the captives together exceeded 10,000, we may safely conclude with Meriamun, the smaller estimate of the force would be the less possible, while the larger would be a highly probable number.

Brugsch *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 118, 119, 120, &c.

of the Delta, and was at first completely successful. The frontier towns were taken by assault and "turned into heaps of rubbish,"¹ the Delta was entered upon, and a position taken up in the nome of Prosopis,² from which both Memphis and Heliopolis were menaced. Merneptah hastily fortified these cities,³ or rather (we must suppose) strengthened their existing defences, and, making Memphis his own head-quarters, proceeded to collect an army, partly of Egyptians, partly of mercenaries, wherewith to oppose the enemy. He did not, however, venture to take the command in person; but pretending an express command of Phthah, whom he had seen in vision, forbidding him to quit Memphis,⁴ he sent his troops under generals to encounter the enemy. A great battle was fought in the nome of Prosopis on the third of Epaphi (May 18), in which, after the struggle had lasted six hours,⁵ the Libyans and their allies were completely defeated and forced to fly. Merneptah himself was among the first to quit the field; and he did so with such haste as to leave behind him not only his camp, baggage, but his bow, his quiver, and his sandals.⁶ His wife and children, who accompanied him to the field, seem also to have escaped, together with some considerable number of his soldiers.⁷ But above eight thousand⁸ were slain,

¹ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 334, 335, 336.

² The nome of Prosopis lay between the Tanis and the Tanisic, or Tanis, and the Tanisic, or Tanis, and the Tanisic, or Tanis, commencing at the point of their separation.

³ *Records of the Past*, vol. iv. p. 4, 5, 6.

⁴ See such *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 334, 335, 336.

⁵ Ibid. p. 334, 335, *Records of the Past*, vol. iv. p. 4.

⁶ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i.

p. 334, 335, 336. M. Chabas on the sands. (See *Revue archéologique*, vol. i. p. 334.)

⁷ Ibid. p. 334. Brugsch on the sands. There is some difference of opinion on the number of the slain. Brugsch estimates at 12,000. See *History of Egypt*, p. 334. But the number of the hands and members slain is given as 8,000. See Brugsch *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 334, 335.

in the battle and the pursuit, and above nine thousand were made prisoners.¹ The defeat was total and irretrievable. Merneptah's power was shattered, and he is heard of no more. The mercenaries, of whatever race they were, learned by experience the wisdom of leaving the Libyans to fight their own battles, and of not again themselves crossing swords with the Egyptians. When the next occasion came for a Libyan invasion of Egypt, no mercenaries accompanied them; and though the Shokshim and Tursha are still occasionally found among the enemies of Egypt, the majority of the allies of Merneptah abstained from further hostile movement. The Mariam even entered the Egyptian service, and came to hold a place among the most trusted of the Egyptian troops.²

It was probably not many years³ after this great victory over the Libyans and their allies had raised Merneptah to a high pitch of glory, both in his own eyes and in those of his subjects, that a demand was made upon him by the chief of a subject race, long dominated in Egypt, which must have seemed to him wholly preposterous. Moses, a Hebrew brought up in the court of his predecessor, but for many years self-exiled from Egypt, appeared before him and requested permission to conduct his people out into the desert, which bordered Egypt on the east, the distance of three days' journey, in order that they might hold a feast and offer sacrifice to their God, Jehovah.⁴ Merneptah,

¹ The exact number is given in the Papyrus of Hunefer.

² See the Account of Ramses III. in the Papyrus Harris Pap. (Accord. to the Papyrus, vi. p. 45).

³ The whole year Merneptah is the latest found upon the monuments.

He may have reigned some time after the twenty years of Merneptah, as Sayce's Chronology, p. 72 n. are probably an excess.

⁴ Ex. i. 1.

names¹ sink into insignificance, and are, to say the least, quite insufficient to establish a theory which runs counter to the belief of, at any rate, three mil- lions. But, leaving this question on one side, we may be content to state in general terms the issue. Favoured by 'a strong east wind,'² the Hebrews made their way







Head of Menepthah.

upon dry ground across the arm of the sea that had seemed to hem them in. On attempting to follow them along the same route, the Egyptians were overwhelmed by the returning waters; the chariot wheels were entangled in the soft ooze; the horses and their riders

¹ Dr Brugsch's paper (not less pp. 332-353, 1st ed.) is beyond a form the International Congress of Egyptologists at Leiden, and published it has failed to convince more than a select few. ² Ex. xiv. 21.

perished; the chosen captains were drowned in the depths covered them: they sank to the bottom as a stone.¹ All the troops that had entered on the dangerous path were destroyed; a great slaughter was accomplished, and a blow received which was felt throughout the empire as a terrible calamity.

But the Pharaoh himself escaped.² Menephthah, with the remnant of his host, returned to Egypt and resumed the peaceful occupations which first the invasion of Maribam, and then the Hebrew troubles, had interrupted. But now revolt seems to have shown itself in the south.³ A pretender, named Am-nemes or Amen-meses,  or , belonging to a city called Hakheb or Kheb,⁴ which was situated near the modern Bem souef, on the Nile opposite the Fayoum, came forward, and was perhaps accepted as monarch by the Thebans. Menephthah died, leaving his crown to his son, Seti-Menephthah

 , or Seti II; but this monarch was not generally acknowledged,⁵ and a time of confusion and

¹ Ex. ix. 15.

² For the Comment on Exodus pp. 102-3 and others agree from Ex. ix. 26 and xv. 15 that the Pharaoh perished, but I agree with Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. i. p. 54 that 'there is no allusion to the existence of Moses or to passing that the Pharaoh was drowned. On the contrary it seems to me that the want of any reference to the Pharaoh's death is the strongest possible indication that he survived.'

³ Hengstenberg, *History of Egypt* vol. i. p. 114-154. The monuments have the history of this period in

great obscurity; and it must be granted to the opinion which Am-nemes raised against Menephthah or against his son, Seti II. I have been induced to give Am-nemes descent after Menephthah chiefly by his mention in Manetho's list (cap. 2. *Antiq. Egypt. Antiquarum* pp. 72-3 and 74-5).

⁴ Found by the *Travellers* of the Society of Biblical Antiquaries, vol. i. p. 177. *Travellers' Memoirs d'Histoire Ancienne* vol. i. p. 142.

⁵ Manetho calls Seti-Menephthah altogether. He never is mentioned joined with marks of veneration upon his monuments. (See Birch, *Ancient Egypt* p. 15.)

disorder set in, which is characterised by Ramesses III. as a period of complete anarchy, when Egypt was without a master, and the various pretenders to power strove with and massacred one the other.¹ Amun-nies (the Ammon-e-nies of Manetho²) reigned for a time—perhaps five years³—at Thebes, and took the title of *hak Uas*, 𓂏𓏏, 'King of Thebes,' which he attached to his name within his escutcheon.⁴ He designed and finished his tomb in the Biban-el-Mohuk, an excavation of moderate pretensions.⁵ Upon his death, Seti Menephthah appears to have been recognised as monarch by the Egyptians generally,⁶ and to have transferred his abode to Thebes, where he built a small temple,⁷ and erected a statue of himself, which is now in the British Museum.⁸ He also carried on a war in the southern part of his dominions, and set up a tablet as a conqueror on the rocks near Abu-Simbel.⁹

In countenance Seti II. was remarkably handsome. He had a long well formed nose, nearly in line with his forehead, arched eyebrows, a good eye with full eyelid, a short upper lip, a cleanly cut mouth, and a delicate rounded chin. He seems, however, to have been wanting in energy and decision. Before he had been long seated upon the throne, a high official named

¹ See the Great Harris Papyrus, translated in the *Records of the Past*, vol. vi. p. 16, 5, 1, and 4, containing fragments of the *Novels of Historical Fiction*, vol. i. 15, 16, 17, and 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 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997, 998, 999, 1000.

² Ap. Syncell. *Chronograph.* p. 73 a.

³ See Manetho, according to Africanus Syncell. *Chronograph.* p. 73 a. Eusebius *Chron.* p. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

⁴ See Chabas. *Recherches*, p. 77.

⁵ *Thel. Ancien Egypt*, p. 100, *Dendur*, pl. p. 100.

⁶ See II. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369.

Ra brought forward, is a rival champion of the same power, a certain Siptah,¹ who is thought to have been a son of Amenmes,² and who was certainly a native of the same city.³ Sesi seems to have made but little resistance to this antagonist. According to one authority,⁴ he accepted from him the title of 'Prince



Head of Sesi II.

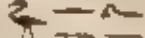
of Cush,' and consented to act as his viceroy in the southern provinces, but it is perhaps more probable that he was either killed in battle, or deposed and murdered by his successful rival.

¹ Heiwe, in an inscription that he 'put away falsehood and gave honour to the truth, inasmuch as he set the king upon his father's throne' (*Reigns of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 131, et seq., Chabas, *Re Service*, p. 120.)

² Heiwe, i.e., Eberslohr in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. i. p. 377, &c.

³ Eberslohr i.e.

⁴ Lelormant, *Mémoires d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i. p. 434.

Siphon, §11, who now became king, took the epithet of Men-sen pathah, 'beloved of Ptah, and the throne-name of Ra-khu-en-sotep-en-ra,'¹ . It would seem that, to strengthen his hold in his assumed position, he married a princess of the Ramesside family, who may have been, but is certainly not proved to have been,² a daughter of Meropthah and a sister of Seti II. Her name appears on the monuments as In-user or Ta-aset,³ which Menpho changed into Thutris.⁴ She seems to have shared the royal authority with her husband, and perhaps exercised it during the term of seven years, as Menpho does, however, mistook her sex (see p. 156).⁵ But the latter reign was troubled and melancholy. Siphon did not engage in any wars, and the only important work that he completed was his tomb in the Biban el Moluk which was so excavated of some pretensions.⁶

A period of anarchy followed the death of Siptah, and separated the nineteenth dynasty from the twentieth. For many years, we are told, the country was without a master, the chief authority belonged to the governors of cities, who attacked one the other. After a time a certain Arsu, a Syrian, became chief among them, the whole country offering him homage, but his exactions plundered all who possessed any wealth. Moreover, the gods were treated like the men; and no one any more made offerings to

¹ Chalmers Researches p. 57

• *Le porteur de la charge publique*

Hipflah 30 x 6 cm, unter dem Jahr
vor 1900, aus der Zeit des Meeresbades
I. a. postremo. In der Mitte, München
v. d. p. 481 4) hat die in der
Folge eine geistliche Note im historischen
Sach.

* See the *Memorias*, pt. iii. pt.

* Ap. 4:10-11 (Koine Greek). p.
10. The first time I saw him

^a *Γαλαταίαν*, pl. vii pl. 201 a

the temples.'¹ Once more, a dynasty of the highest distinction, one which had ruled Egypt gloriously for above a century,² and covered the country with magnificent works, expired amid clouds and gloom. Internal rebellion and external attack combined to produce a general state of confusion and anarchy, which threatened the complete dissolution of the whole fabric of Egyptian society. For several years this state of things continued, and the sufferings of the people must have been great. Had the nation not possessed extraordinary vitality, recovery from so extreme a state of depression and exhaustion would have been impossible, but there was *that* in the Egyptian character which almost defied adverse circumstances, and enabled the monarchy to rise again, and again like the fabled plant, after being stricken to the earth, and to vindicate to itself again and again a foremost place among the leading kingdoms of the world. We shall find Egypt under the twentieth dynasty occupying almost as commanding a position as that which we have shown her to have held under the eighteenth and the nineteenth.

The civilisation of Egypt under these two most important dynasties has now, according to the general plan pursued in the present work, to be considered, and will be divided under our three customary heads—Art, Religion, and Manners.

¹ See the details here referred above to p. 337, note, and compare Herodotus *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 157, to which Herodotus alludes in a passage—*‘‘...τοιαύτην ἀποκαταστάσιν ἔχουσαν τὴν χώραν, ὥστε οὐκ ἔμελλεν εὐδοκίαν εἶναι τῇ πόλει, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ.’’*—but which was not a general authority, and the gods were

tried out with neglect.

² Nearly two centuries, according to the *Manetho of Bunsen*, *Chron. Con.* l. 1 c. 1, pp. 83, 84. *Chronograph* p. 7 c. but this is certainly an over-estimate. (See p. 336, p. 14.)

Whatever may be thought with respect to other departments of art, it cannot be questioned that Egyptian architecture reached its highest perfection under these two dynasties. The Ramesseum, the temples of Medinet-Abou and Ipsambul, the palace-temples or temple-palaces of Karnak and Luxor, and the rock-cut tombs of the Biban-el-Mohak, belong alike to the period, and give it an architectural pre-eminence over every other period in Egyptian history, which only profound ignorance can doubt or extreme capriciousness dispute. The latest historian of architecture has given us his verdict, that the hypostyle hall of Sen I. at Karnak is 'the greatest of man's architectural works,' and the entire building, of which it is a part, 'the noblest effort of architectural magnificence ever produced by the hand of man.'¹ The same writer has declared, though familiar with the grand examples at Ellora and Elephanta, that the rock-cut temple of Ipsambul is 'the finest of its class known to exist anywhere.'² Intelligent travelers are struck by the Theban edifices—the work almost exclusively of these dynasties—far more than by all the other constructions of the Pharaohs.³ Most of them are disappointed by the Pyramids; there is scarcely one whose heart is not stirred by a thrill of admiration as he contemplates Karnak or Luxor.

If we inquire what exactly constituted the pre-eminence of these Pharaonic works over the remainder, the readiest answer would seem to be that they exhibited more strikingly than any others the combination

¹ Fergusson, *History of Architecture*, vol. i. p. 105, 1st ed.

² *Ibid.* p. 105.

³ *Ibid.* p. 113.

⁴ See W. Palmer's *Egyptian Chronology*, vol. i. 'Introduction,' p. iv. Stanley *Sinai and Palestine*, 'Introduction,' pp. xxxv. *etc.*, &c.

of enormous mass and size with a profusion of the most elaborate ornamentation. The Pyramids are granitic structures, far more massive, and—at any rate in two instances¹—covering a larger area, but they are at present, and probably always were,² entirely devoid of ornament, perfectly plain constructions, intended to produce their whole effect upon the spectator by mere hugeness and solid massiveness. The Theban palace-temples have this quality in a less degree than the Pyramids; but still they have it largely. They cover nearly as much ground as the greatest of the Pyramids; they contain blocks of stone as enormous, and even their material bulk, though very inferior, impresses the mind almost as much, being more manifest and appreciable. With this quality of vast size they united a wealth of varied ornamentation to which a parallel scarcely exists anywhere else. The buildings presented a long vista of gateways, and courts, and colonnades, and pillared halls, led up to by avenues of sphinxes or of colossi, and themselves adorned with colossi or with tall tapering obelisks, which shot up above the general horizontal line of the courts and halls, as the pinnacles and towers and spires of a modern cathedral raise themselves above the line of the nave and choir. Within and without, on the massive gate-towers, on the walls of chambers and of

¹ The Great Pyramid of Cheops covers an area of 484,000 square feet; the Second Pyramid one of 400,000 square feet. The area covered by the Palace-Temple of Karnak is estimated at 1,000,000 square feet (Bergmann, *History of Architecture*, vii. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12).

² Deane Stanley, quoting Herodotus and Strabo as authorities, expresses a belief that the smooth

outside of the Pyramids were covered with sculptures (Horn and Peabody, *Introduction*, p. 17). But the smoothness of the Second Pyramid, which is all in part agreeable to this view, gave rise to a superstition and created a legend of nothing but a short legend in the apocryphal character of one of the Pyramids (p. 115).

courts, on the ceilings, on the very pillars themselves, everywhere, on every side, whithersoever the eye could turn itself, elaborate sculptures representing gods and kings, and battle-scenes, and graceful forms of vegetable life, were to be seen, all glowing with warm tints, and enchanting the eye with a blaze of gorgeous yet well-assorted hues. Form, colour, vastness, multiplicity, elaboration, mystery, combined to impress, astonish, and delight the spectator, who saw on every side of him stately gateways, huge colonnaded courts, long vistas of pillars, calm silent solemn colossal, slim one isks—all bathed to some extent in the warm light of an Egyptian sky, and, even where the shade was deepest, resplendent with the hues of art.¹

The combination of mass, however, with rich ornamentation is not the sole merit of the works which we are considering. There is a harmony in the forms and in the tints, a solemnity and majesty in the grand harmonies introduced, a skill in the employment of painting and sculpture as subsidiary to architecture, which have scarcely been surmised as yet, and which are above all praise.² Moreover, the style is eminently

¹ On Egyptian painting as subsidiary to architecture see above, vol. i. pp. 24-5 and pp. 260-11.

² What Mr. Perugino says of Egyptian architecture generally is so true of its harmonies, as equally true of the period here spoken of. "I know nothing," we may perhaps safely assert, "of the Egyptians who did not understand what the purpose of a thing was, and we are disappointed with and disappointed by many magnificent and most successful in this way. The Egyptians, it seems, understood them as refinement and beauty of detail, and in the class of sculpture with which they ornamented their buildings, while the

Greeks understood far excellently the art of construction everywhere, but with these exceptions no other art can be put into competition with them. At the same time, neither time, nor talent, nor architects understood more perfectly and so gradually of art, and the exact harmonies that should be given to every form of expression. Whether it was this practical perfection, or the wisdom and foresight beyond a doubt, the perfect position of the columns decreasing in a class the top, an understood perfection both how to make the general form express exactly what he wanted, and also to make every detail, and all, as

sited to the country itself, to its climate, atmosphere, and general physical features; transport it elsewhere, and it would lose half its charm; but in Egypt, in the flat green valley of the Nile with its low wall of rock on either side, with its pellucid air, bright sun, and clear blue sky, it is as near perfection as anything human, or at least as anything within the circle of the arts. Whatever eulogy is justly bestowed on Egyptian architecture generally belongs especially to the great works of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties, which brought the style introduced by the monarchs of the twelfth to a pitch of excellence never exceeded, and rarely equalled, by the later Pharaohs.

In glyptic art the great glory of the period consisted in its colossal. The rock-cut images of Rameses II. at Ipsambul, the sitting figures of Amenophis III. near Luxor, remnants (as is thought¹) of an avenue of eighteen, and the enormous granite statue of Rameses—the pride of his Ramesseum—at Karnak, are far more gigantic than any other human forms at present existing upon the earth, and impress the beholder with a feeling of combined awe and admiration, which with difficulty finds vent in expression. ‘Nothing which now exists in the world,’ says Dean Stanley of the last-named of these colossal, ‘can give any notion

various materials, contribute to the general effect. They understand also, better than any other nation, how to use sculpture in combination with archææture, and to make their colossal avatars of granite group themselves into parts of one great design, and at the same time to use hieroglyphic paintings, to make by numerous degrees, not hieroglyphs on sculpture and not into sculpture on the other—using the whole together with the largest class of

phonetic utterance. With the most beautiful religious they thus have increased all these arts into one great whole, unsurpassed by anything the world has seen during the thirty centuries of struggle and aspiration that have elapsed since the birth of the great kingdom of the Pharaohs. (Thompson *History of Architecture*, vol. i. p. 126. Ital. ed.)

¹ Stanley *Sinai and Palestine*, ‘Introduction,’ § xxvii.

of what the effect must have been when the figure was erect. Nero towering above the Colossus may have been something like it; but he was of bronze, and Rameses was of solid granite. Nero was standing without any object, Rameses was resting in awful majesty after the conquest of the whole of the then known world.¹ Miss Martineau's impression of the colossi of Amenôphis has been already noticed.² The Dean says of them,³ 'The sun was setting, the African range glowed red behind them, the green plain was dyed with a deeper green beneath them, and the shades of evening veiled the vast rents and fissures in their aged frames. They too sit, hands on knees, and they too are sixty feet high. As I looked back on them in the sunset, and they rose up in front of the background of the mountain, they seemed indeed as if they were part of it—as if they belonged to some natural creation rather than to any work of art.' The Ipsambul figures are almost equally impressive. 'Nothing can exceed,' we are told, 'their calm majesty and beauty.'⁴ 'The wonderful façade surpasses everything which our imagination can conceive of grandeur in a human work.'⁵ 'Standing before them, the thoughtful child of our modern age first feels the greatness of antiquity in its all-powerful might.'⁶

It is the ordinary fault of colossi to be coarse and vulgar. Giants are unpleasant in actual life, and magnified representations of our fellow men leave for the most part an unsatisfactory impression. The great colossi of the best Egyptian times are redeemed from

¹ Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*.

² Introduction, p. xxxv.

³ See above, p. 200.

⁴ Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*.

⁵ Introduction, p. xxxv.

⁶ Ferguson, *History of Architecture*, vol. i. p. 143.

⁷ Beaufort, *History of Egypt*, vol.

ii. p. 90, 143-4.

⁸ *Ibid.* p. 11.

vanity by their majestic pose, the stiff rigidity of their forms, and the stamp which they bear upon them of eternal changeless tranquillity. Profound repose, with something of a look of scorn, is their characteristic expression—they resemble beings above all human weaknesses, and human passions—Eternian deities, unconcerned spectators of the lapse of ages and the follies and woes of man.

The bas-reliefs of the period have two special features—first, they are on a far larger scale than any previous ones, and secondly, they are more vigorous and animated. While domestic scenes continue to be represented in the tombs,¹ and religious ones both in the tombs and in the temples, the grand subject of war is for the first time introduced²—all its phases receive careful treatment, the march, the encampment, the conflict, the siege, the pursuit, vast surfaces are covered with enormous pictures, into which hundreds of figures are introduced³—life, action, rapid movement, energy are portrayed, infinitely varied attitudes occur, the artists seem to have emancipated themselves from all the old conventional trammels, and represent the various circumstances of battle with equal truthfulness and spirit. Especially do they succeed in the depiction of the newly imported horse, now standing still, now trotting, now galloping at full speed, now wounded, swerving, falling prone on the ground; or again prancing, rearing, turning round, leaping, about to lie down, extended at its ease, in every position equally well drawn and clearly stated from the life. Warfare is exhibited with all its multifarious incidents,

¹ Deslauriers, pt. iii. pls. 63 a. 64 a. 71 b. 77 c. &c.

² Ibid. pls. 126 a, 130 a. 145 c, 154, 155, &c. &c.

³ See also vol. i. p. 452. The representation given to us is also of course a very partial one, as we have seen upon the monuments.

Foreign races have their various costumes, physiognomies, armature, modes of fighting, war-animals, style of chariots. Even the confusion and turmoil of a sea-fight was regarded as within the range of the artists' powers; and adverse galleys engaged in actual combat exhibit to us the facts of naval warfare about the time of Moses.¹

It is thought that the sculptures of the period which we are considering, whether in relief or 'in the round,' want they comprise the highest perfection to which Egyptian art ever attained, contain also distinct traces of the commencement of a decline.² The change occurred in the latter part of the reign of Rameses II. It consisted in a want of care and finish, an undue elongation of the figure,³ and an occasional rudeness and coarseness which are pronounced 'barbaric.'⁴ To the unpractised eye, however, the difference is not very striking, and even the sculptures of Rameses III., the second king of the succeeding dynasty, seem to fall but little short of the great masterpieces of Seti I. and Rameses II.

In the matter of religion, the most noticeable changes which occurred are connected with the disk-worship, and with the alternate elevation and depression of the god Set. The cult of the disk, favoured by

¹ Roussin, *Monuments Hieroglyphiques*, pl. cxvii. The date of this scene is a little later than the time here assigned to it, since it belongs to the reign of Rameses III.

² Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 129. Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, t. ii. p. 326. The artist wanted not the triumphs of Rameses II. pour faire assésiter à son décadence l'ardeur de la sculpture égyptienne, qui se précipite avec une invincible rapidité à

mesure qu'on s'avance dans ce long règne. Il débute par des œuvres hautes de leur sublimité, qui sont le nec plus ultra de l'art égyptien, mais bientôt l'apparition universelle, qui peut sur tout le contour comme un joug de fer, fait la source de la grande inspiration des arts. A la fin du règne, la décadence est complète.

³ Birch, *Travels in Nubia*, p. 17.

⁴ Lenormant, *Loc.*

Amenophis III.¹ and fully established by his son, Amenophis IV., or Khuenaten, is chiefly remarkable on account of its exclusive character, the disk-worshippers opposing and disallowing all other cults and religious usages. Had Khuenaten been able to effect the religious revolution at which he aimed, the old Egyptian religion would have been destroyed, and its place would have been taken by a species of monotheism, in which the maternal sun would have been recognised as the one and only Lord, and Ruler of the Universe. Ammen, Khem, Ankh, Ptah, Maat, Khonsu, Osiris, Horus, Isis, Thoth, would have disappeared, and sun-worship, pure and simple, would have replaced the old complicated polytheism. But Egypt was not prepared for this change. The hieratic interest, naturally enlisted against it, was strong; the popular sentiment was opposed to change, and especially to innovations which could be traced to the influence of foreigners; disk-worship never obtained any firm hold on the Egyptian people; it was a court religion, introduced and sustained by kings, for which the bulk of their subjects had neither regard nor reverence.

It was otherwise with the Set movement, which strove to elevate that god to the highest place in the Pantheon. There had been in Egypt from a remote antiquity a struggle between the devotees of Set and those of Osiris,² the esoteric meaning of which it is difficult to penetrate, for we can scarcely suppose that the followers of Set were actual devil worshippers. If the myth of Osiris was originally solar, and Set was merely night, which engulfs and destroys the sun, we can understand that there would be, in such a country

¹ *Supra*, p. 231.

² See above, vol. i. p. 291.

as Egyptian persons to whom night might seem more admirable, more divine than day; who would therefore take the part of Set, and think that he had done well to slay his brother. And the division into the two camps, once begun, would continue long after its meaning had become lost to view. The Osiris worshippers were always saying hard things of Set and seeking to depress him below the point at which he stood in the original Pantheon. The Set worshippers resisted them. During the early monarchy, Set, on the whole, maintained a fairly high place.¹ With the success of the Shepherds (Hyksos), however, he entered on a new position. Set was the patron deity of the first Hyksos king of Egypt, who actually bore his name; and Set-worship thus received a new impulse and a new life under the Shepherd rule, until at last it was, in Lower Egypt at any rate, established as exclusively the state religion. When the Hyksos were expelled, Set fell with them, not merely losing the position to which he had attained, but sinking to a comparatively subordinate place among the Egyptian deities. In this position he remained throughout the whole period of the eighteenth dynasty,² but with the accession of the nineteenth he once more came to the front. Rameses I. named his eldest son Seth—a name commonly written with the figure of the god,³ and implying a dedication of his first-born to that divinity. Seth, when he became king, naturally brought Set forward, not only worshipping him together with the other Osiral gods,⁴

¹ *Supra*, pp. 84 and 110.

² If there is any exception it is in the reign of Thothmes III., who seems to have had a considerable regard for Set, and represents him

not infrequently on his monuments (*Bruckner*, pt. iii. pls. 34 g, 35 c, 36 b, 36 c).

³ See *ib. vi.*, vol. i. p. 311, note 4.

⁴ *Bruckner*, pt. iii. pl. 125 a.

but representing himself as receiving life at his lands. Various princes of the Ramesside house received a similar dedication with that of Sen I.² and Set's high rank among the gods was maintained beyond the period of the nineteenth dynasty into that of the twentieth.

With regard to the entire period of which we are treating, nothing is more remarkable than the absence of any strong favoritism, and the equitable admission of religious regard among a large number of deities. On the whole, Ammon, now almost always viewed as Ammon-Ra, maintains his pre-eminence; but great attention is paid also to Horus, Kneph, Athor, Ra, Thoth, Ptah, Osiris, Isis, Mentu, Maat, Tura, Kamesa, and Netpe. Sati also, Shu, Anaka, Seb, Tefer, and Nebek are frequently worshipped; and occasional honour is paid to Khem, Setkh, Anubis, Septhay, Ma, Sekhet, Neuh, Tamart, Hapt, the Nine-God, Heka, Seneh, and Bes. Altogether, about forty deities appear in the bas-reliefs as objects of religious adoration during the period, which is one at which the Pantheon obtains almost its full development. To give life seems to be the prerogative of comparatively speaking) but few deities—as Ammon, Horus, Set, Kneph, Thoth, Mentu, Athor, and Netpe.³ It belongs to Set to teach the monarch to shoot.⁴ Ammon-Ra, Thoth, and Setkh confer immortality by writing the monarch's name on the leaves of the tree of life.⁵ In battle, the king is compared commonly with Mentu, Set, or Bar (Baal),⁶ and is regarded as under the special protection of

¹ *Denkmäler*, pt. vi, pl. 124 d.

74 n, 75 c, 124 a, 151 a, &c.

² As Sen II. *Senebkht* Sen and *Set* *sen-neht*, sons of Rameses II. and *Sen*.

³ *Denk.* p. 100 b.

⁴ *Denk.* p. 100 a and 100 c.

⁵ *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, pp.

32 b, 40 a, 50 b, 50 a, 56, 60 a, 72.

43, 71, 72, 73, 76, &c.

Atamou-Ra.¹ Living, he is commonly entitled 'the Horus,' or 'the living Horus;' dead, 'the Osiris.'

A further development of the doctrine, that the kings were actual gods,² also characterises the period under consideration. Hitherto the king-worship had been one of language and sentiment,³ now it took a material shape. Thothmes III., at Semneh and Komamleh, associated his ancestor, Usurtasen III., with Kneph and Totem on terms of complete equality,⁴ placing him on the same scale, offering to him sacrifices and representing himself as receiving 'life' at his hands.⁵ Amenhotep II., his son, followed his example.⁶ Other kings exalted Neferteri Ankhnes to the rank of a goddess.⁷ But it remained for Ramesses II. not only to represent himself as worshipped,⁸ but actually to set up his own image for worship in a temple together with, and on a par with, images of three of the greatest gods—namely, Ammon, Ptah, and Horus.⁹ The deification of the reigning monarch became thus complete. It is scarcely possible that any other religious sentiment can have maintained much influence over men, when the doctrine was accepted, that in their actual monarch they had present with them a deity as great as any in earth or heaven.¹⁰

The arts of life take a rapid advance under the early kings of the eighteenth dynasty, and progressed

¹ *Records of the Past*, vol. ii. pp. 39, 40, 42, &c., vol. iv. p. 44, &c.

² See above, pp. 173-4.

³ The only exception so far as I know, was the appointment of priests to a very early date for the cult of the kings, in connection with their burial places; but it is seems to have been a domestic arrangement and to have belonged to the general worship of ancestors, of which we have spoken *supra*, vol. i. p. 423).

⁴ *Denkmäler*, p. 17, pls. 47, 50.

⁵ Ibid. pls. 54 a and 57 a.

⁶ Ibid. pt. ii. pl. 67.

⁷ Ibid. pls. 147 a, 151 b, 159 a, &c.

⁸ Ibid. pl. 145 c.

⁹ See above, p. 349, note 1.

¹⁰ Dean Stanley well carries it reference to Ramesses II. "His image carries me back to the days when there were gods upon the earth. It shows how the king in that first monarchy, was the visible god."

given above,¹ a *blue* wig, a long robe of white striped muslin, indecently transparent, and an elaborate flowing cape of the same. She has armlets and bracelets set with jewels, white sandals, a broad collar like her son's, and earrings. A broad sash, blue, red, and yellow, depends from her waist to the bottom of her robe. In another representation she has a wig with long pendants of a peculiar character.²

It is not often that the dresses represented are so elaborate as these, but there is, speaking generally, a marked advance in the manner, complexion, and variety of the garments, both of men and women. In times III introduces the tall cap, round in front



Headdresses of Times III and Times IV

and pointed at the back, which then forth becomes the favourite headdress of the kings, being occasionally covered with spots, which may represent pearls. Kings sometimes wear a spencer similarly spotted,³ which covers the shoulders and reaches to the waist. One king, Amenophis IV., wears at the base of his cap a round, or diadem terminating in two flowing ends.⁴ He has also a long flowing robe, which falls behind

¹ Supra, p. 210.

² *Donations*, p. iii, pl. 2 d.

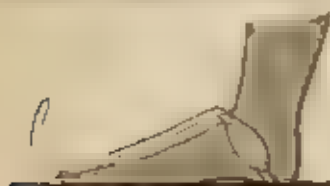
VOL. II.

³ *Ibid* pl. 60 a.

⁴ *Ibid* pl. n. pl. 102

A A

him, and separates into two flaps, which are rounded off into points.¹ Women, no less than men, wear sandals; and both women and men wear occasionally anklets, besides armlets and bracelets.² The royal



Egyptian turned-up sandal.

attendants have commonly two tunics instead of one, the inner of linen, the outer of mud-brick and transparent. In a few cases they wear also a mud-brick³ sandals are still somewhat rare;

even princes and kings are sometimes represented without them, and they are but seldom worn by persons of lower rank. The practice



Character of Women Dress.

begins of wearing them with the toes voluntarily turned up;⁴ but this usage does not become general until the time of the twentieth dynasty. Some of the varieties in female apparel will be better understood by representation than description.

The Loves of the great, no doubt, became more luxurious as time went on; and one king shows us the arrangement of a royal palace, or villa,⁵ from which we may obtain a tolerable notion of the general character of rich men's residences. A

¹ *Denkmäler*, pt. III. pls. 92 and 93.

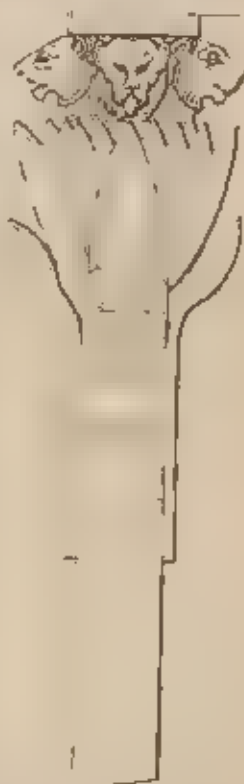
² Ibid. pls. 97 and 207.

³ Ibid. pt. I. p. 11.

⁴ Ibid. pt. III. p. 113.

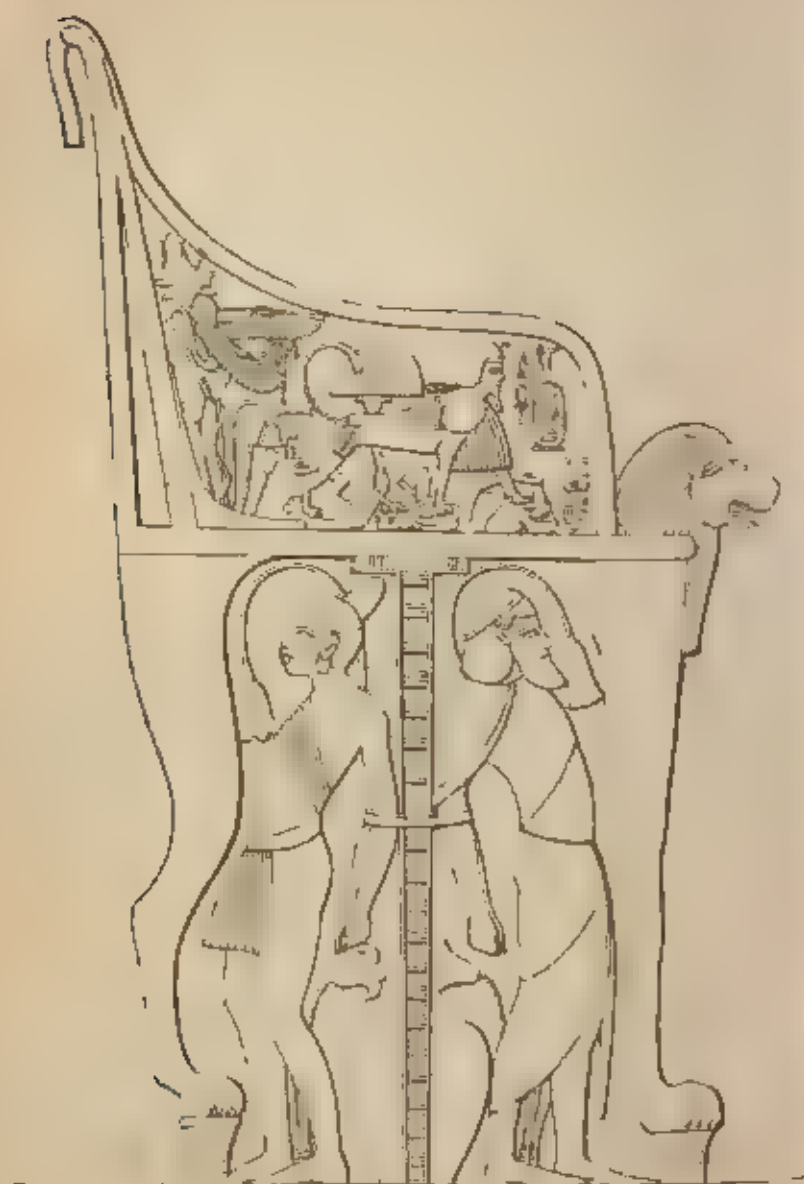
⁵ See the *Denkmäler*, pt. III. pl. 51. Also, for the time and, *Monuments Égyptiens*, p. 211.

large square or parallelogram was enclosed within high walls, with pylonic entrances on two or more of the sides, like those of temples in miniature. The grounds were divided out into formal courts and alleys, planted with trees in rows, the trees being of various kinds, inclusive of palms and vines. Ponds or reservoirs, rectangular in shape, were frequent, and gave the charm of freshness in a climate where without constant irrigation vegetation languishes. The house itself consisted of numerous courts, surrounded with colonnaded cloisters, and entered through pylons, with here and there a group of apartments, into which light was but scantily admitted by small windows placed high up in the walls. Much taste was shown in the designs of pillars, and especially of their capitals, which combined animal and vegetable forms, after a manner that was at once curious and pleasing¹. The number of apartments was not great, life being chiefly passed in the colonnaded courts, and in the grounds, where a sufficiency of immediate shade could be combined with the charm of remoter light and with the free play of the atmosphere. Furniture, though not very



Remarkable Capital.

¹ *Denkmäler*, pt. III. pl. 65 a.



Egyptian Tomb (time of the 18th Dynasty).

abundant according to modern notions,¹ was convenient and in good taste. Animal forms were followed in the feet of chairs, sofas, and ottomans,² and sometimes in other portions of the carved woodwork,³ while delicate stuffs covered the cushioned portions, adding the beauty of colour to that of form.⁴ The elaboration of furniture culminated in the thrones constructed for the kings,⁵ and the foot-stools sometimes attached to them,⁶ which were carved in the richest and quaintest fashion, either with figures of captured monarchs, or with animal or vegetable forms, or with the two combined, and must have been most curious and extraordinary works of art.

Ornamental carvings or castings of an artistic character, realistic in style, were also received as tribute from some of the subject states, and served to adorn the palaces of the Pharaohs with strange and outlandish figures. One such offering, brought to Tutankh-amen by the Ethiopians,⁷ is peculiarly graceful and pleasing. It represents the giraffe or camelopard amid the palm groves of Mid Africa, and expresses with much truthfulness and spirit the form of that remarkable animal.

Graceful ornamentation also characterises the arms and chair of the monarch, which frequently exhibit the head, or even the full form, of the lion.⁸ Vases are of elegant shapes, and their covers are occasionally

¹ See above, vol. i. p. 480.

² See also, *Monuments Cairenses*, pl. xlv. and xvi. Wilkinson, *Illustrations of Egyptology*, vol. ii. pp. 100, 201, *Denkmäler*, pt. iii. pl. 12, &c.

³ Rosellini, *Monumenti Cairensi*, pl. lxxv. *Denkmäler*, pt. iii. pl. 135 a.

⁴ Rosellini, *Monumenti Cairensi*, p. 102. and xvi. Wilkinson, *Illustrations*

Egyptiennes, transcription to vol. i.

⁵ *Denkmäler*, pt. iii. pls. 2, 6, 7, 76 b, 77 b, 111 &c.

⁶ *Ibid.* pl. 108 a.

Ibid. pl. 112. See also vol. i.

⁷ See above, vol. i. p. 455. Rosellini, *Monumenti Cairensi*, pt. cxxv. Nos. 23 and 24, *Denkmäler*, pt. iii. pls. 105, 157 c, &c.

in the form of animals' heads.¹ Figures of animals adorn the prows of vessels; and sometimes their oars terminate in representations of the heads of men.²



Ornamental Carving (Ethiopic).

In social life, the introduction of the horse from Asia made a considerable change. The chariot superseded the palanquin as the ordinary mode of conveyance; and much attention was bestowed upon the equi page and the stud. Horses were great favourites, and received special names, as Ken-Amen, 'strength of Ammon,' Anta-hruta 'Atantis pleased,' and the like.³ The young dandy prided himself on the strength and lightness of his vehicle, the perfect shape and condition

¹ *Denkmäler*, pt. iii. pls. 115 and 127 b.

² *Ibid.* pl. 76 a.

³ See the *Transcripts of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. i. pp. 416, 420, *Records of the*

Inde, vol. ii. p. 75 &c. Brugsch holds that a pair of horses had sometimes one name between them (*History of Egypt*, vol. i. pp. 13 and 16, *loc. cit.*).

of his carriage-horses, the beauty of their trappings, and his own skill in driving them.¹ Kings generally employed a charioteer, but even they did not disdain to take the reins occasionally into their own hands and conduct their own vehicles.² Horses bore tall plumes of ostrich feathers on their heads, had many tassels or streamers appended to them, and sometimes wore elegant housings.³ Field sports continued to occupy the leisure hours of most well-to-do Egyptians; and the monarchs, at any rate, added to their former pleasures of this kind the chase of the lion and the elephant.⁴

A burst of literary vigour distinguishes the period. Literature had always been held in esteem in Egypt, and had furnished a fairly satisfactory career to a considerable number of persons.⁵ Men of high rank, like Ptah-hotep and Seneb, had occasionally occupied themselves with it, and even one monarch had left 'Instructions' for his successor, which he had cast into a highly artificial and *quasi* poetic form.⁶ But it is not till the reigns of Rameses II and his son, Menephthah, that literary activity reaches its acme, and Egypt is able to boast of a whole 'galaxy' of writers.⁷ The high honour done to the 'epic poet' Pentour, whose lay of 'Rameses victorious' was inscribed on the walls of half a dozen temples,⁸ may have acted as a stimulus to authorship, and have given to the pursuit of knowledge and of the art of composition an attraction which it had not possessed

¹ Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. i. p. 335.

² *Supra*, pp. 91, 117, &c.

³ See *above*, vol. i. p. 464.

⁴ *Records of the Past*, vol. ii. pp. 6-10.

⁵ *Ibid.* Compare the *Demotic*, pt. ii. pls. 92, 125 a, 153, 186, and 187 d.

⁶ Knaus, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 151, 1st ed.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 45.

⁸ *Supra*, pp. 236 and 240.

previously. But, whatever was the cause, at least the effect is certain. Under Rameses II. and Meropthah literature flourished in all its branches—history, divinity, practical philosophy, poetry, epistolary correspondence, novels or tales, occupied the attention of numerous writers, and works in these various subjects rapidly accumulated. A public library was established at Thebes, under a director—a high official—named Amen-em-hu.¹ The names of writers included the names of Pentaur, Amen-em-ipt, Pan-bas, Kakabu, Hor, Anko, Merem-hu, Bek-en-pah, Horn, Amen-masu, Sanko, Serpah. Nor was original composition the sole occupation of these learned persons. The modern world is indebted to them for the careful copies which they made of earlier manuscripts, and owes to their indefatigable industry such works as ‘The Instructions of Amenemhat,’ ‘The Tale of the Two Brothers,’ ‘The Praise of Learning,’ and even the greater part of ‘The Book of the Dead.’² Like the monks of the Middle Ages, the Egyptian hieroglyphicists regarded it as a sacred duty to hand on to later ages the learning of the past, and, when the fragile papyrus of the early times was finding its way into decay, transcribed the perishing work upon fresh material.

Thus, in almost all respects, in arts, in arms, in literature, in the comforts and elegancies of private life, the Egypt of the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries before our era had made great advances beyond the simplicity of primitive times, and attained a point which well deserves attention, and even admiration.

¹ Lepsius, *Monum. d'Hist. Anc. Egypte*, i. p. 425.

² The ‘Book of the Dead,’ as we have it, is taken from a copy of the twenty-fourth dynasty.

But the chief papers by means of which the Book was collected and preserved, being so fragile, are now lost. See Bruns, *Egyptische Hieroglyphen*, vol. i. pp. 130–1.

But it must not be denied or excused that there were darker hues in the picture. The glorious achievements of the greatest of the Pharaohs in architecture and colossal statuary were not produced without much suffering among a large servile class, whose forced toil was excessive and increasing¹—nay, sometimes intentionally aggravated for the purpose of bracing their strength.² Taxation was heavy upon the lower orders of the native Egyptians, and collectors with no pity in their hearts exacted the last penny from the wretched *fellahin* by the free use of the rod.³ Both men and women were stripped naked and subjected to the pain and indignity of the bastinado.⁴ In war many cruel and barbarous customs prevailed. Captives were either reduced to slavery or put to death. The slain were systematically mutilated in order to obtain sure evidence of their numbers,⁵ and conquerors in marches were not ashamed to return home from battle with the gory heads of their adversaries attached to the hinder part of their chariot.⁶ Whether kings generally slew their more distinguished prisoners with their own hand is perhaps doubtful,⁷ but there is distinct evidence that such an act was considered not unbecoming, and that a king could not only commit it, but boast of it.⁸ The relations between the sexes did not improve as time went on. Polygamy on a vast scale was introduced into the royal household, indecency in apparel was common; and the profligacy

¹ See above, p. 324.

² Ex. i. 11, 4, v. 6-10.

³ See the letter of Ankhnesneferibre to Pentuon, quoted in vol. i. p. 480, which belongs to this period.

⁴ A group, now one of the best methods to meet has been a royal, and and abused represented in vol. i.

126. For the application of the stick to which see the *Denkmal*, pt. iii. p. 173.

⁵ See the sculptures, *passim*, and compare also Ex. i. p. 474.

⁶ *Denkmal*, pt. iii. pl. 178.

⁷ See above, vol. i. p. 474.

⁸ *Supra*, p. 235.

of the women was such as to become a commonplace of Egyptian novels.¹ Altogether, it would seem that the acme of perfection in art was coincident with a decline in morals—a decline which combined increased savagery with advancing sensualism.

¹ *Records of the Past* vol. ii. p. 140, vol. iii. pp. 146-5, vol. vi. pp. 160-1.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE TWENTIETH DYNASTY (ABOUT B.C. 1280-1100).

Accession of Setnekht—his Birth and Parentage doubtful. His b. of Egypt. His Tomb. Setnekht introduces his Son, Ramesses, Ruler of Ramesses III. His Appointments. His new Arrangement of the Official Classes. His Wars— with the Shams— with the Libyans— with the great Confederacy of the Finicians, Shetuna, Seckhusha, Talaha, Pashesh, Purianta, and Tekuru— with the Mushmasha— with the Negroes and Ethiopians— with the Nations of Syria. His great Works. His Hunting of Terra. His Encouragement of Mining and Trade. The Conquerors against him. His Domestic History. His Personal Appearance and Character. His Tomb. Royal Decree of Egypt after his Death—its Causes. Reigns of Ramesses IV., Ramesses V. Ramesses VI. and Meri-Tam, Ramesses VII. and VIII. Reign of Horem IX., and Confinement of Priestly Encroachment. Reigns of Ramesses X. and XI. Ramesses XII. and the Princess of Babilonia. Reign of Ramesses XIII. General View of the Period. History of Architecture, Art, and Literature— Deterioration of Manners— night Changes in Civilization and Habits of Life.

Un prince glorieux est jeté en dernier point sur les armes de l'Egypte à la veille de leur dernière extinction. LEXINGTON: *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne* Vol. 1. p. 430.

The anarchy which supervened upon the death of Siptahub can scarcely have lasted very long. Egypt was not yet reduced to such a state of exhaustion as to tolerate for many years the complete eclipse of authority and suspension of settled government. The royal race, which had reigned with so much glory from the date of the expulsion of the Saepaends to the time of Seti II., was by no means extinct, nor had it even as

¹ See above, p. 330.

of the women was such as to become a commonplace of Egyptian novels.¹ Altogether, it would seem that the rene of perfection in art was coincident with a decline in morals—a decline which combined increased savagery with advancing sensualism.

¹ *Records of the Past*, vol. ii. p. 140, vol. iv. pp. 142-5, vol. vi. pp. 153 ff.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE TWENTIETH DYNASTY (ABOUT B.C. 1180-1100)

Accession of Setnakht—his Birth and Parentage doubtful. His brief Reign. His Tomb. Setnakht appoints his Son, Ramesses. Reign of Ramesses III. His Appellations. His new Arrangement of the official Classes. His Wars— with the Shasu— with the Libyans— with the great confederacy of the Tanianu, Shurtauu, Shekhuah, Tulahu, Uahash, Perwahu, and Tekaru— with the Meshuashu— with the Negroes and Ethiopians— with the Nations of Syria. His great Works. His Hunting of Tyces. His Encouragement of Mining and Trade. The Conspiracy against him. His Domestic History. His Personal Appearance and Character. His Tomb. Royal Deaths of Egypt after his Death its Causes. Reigns of Ramesses IV, Ramesses V, Ramesses VI and Meru-Tam. Ramesses VII and VIII. Reign of Ramesses IX, and commencement of Foreign Embarrassment. Reigns of Ramesses X, and XI. Ramesses XII and the Plagues of Babylon. Reign of Ramesses XIII. Terminal Year of the Period—Decline of Architecture, Art, and Literature—Deterioration of Morals—great Changes in Civilization and Manners of Life.

¹ On prince Soutahab and his reign see also the notice in the *Revue Egyptologique*, vol. i, p. 400.

The anarchy which supervened upon the death of Soutahab¹ can scarcely have lasted very long. Egypt was not yet reduced to such a state of exhaustion as to tolerate for many years the complete eclipse of authority and suspension of settled government. The royal race, which had reigned with so much glory from the date of the expulsion of the Shepherds to the time of Seti II, was by no means extinct, nor had it even as

¹ See above, p. 339.

yet shown any signs of a serious loss of vigour and governmental ability. To find a new monarch of the old blood could not have been difficult, when a recent Pharaoh¹ had seen the parent of fifty nine sons and sixty daughters. Probably, the anarchy was caused rather by a superfluity than a lack of candidates for the royal power,² since the 'great men' (*moru*) who ruled in the various towns³ were most likely of royal descent, at any rate for the most part. It may have been difficult to decide upon the claims of the various candidates, and we can even conceive the possibility of the priests and nobles being in no hurry to make a choice, since, while the royal authority was in abeyance, their own power and dignity would be augmented. Had Egypt had no warlike neighbours, they would perhaps have temporised longer, but when a Syrian took advantage of the state of things to establish himself as prince in Egypt, and his companions robbed and plundered at their pleasure, and the Egyptian gods were treated with as little respect as the Egyptian men, and the temples were denuded of their accustomed offerings,⁴ it was felt that the time had arrived for a great effort—'the gods,' we are told,⁵ 'restored the land to its even balance, as its condition properly required. They established their son, Setnekt, as

¹ Herodotus II. cxxvii. p. 120.


² For instance, says M. Quatremere, speaking of the hereditary principle given to the great Harris papyrus, 'I regret de discordes civiles, et il est possible que tribune à une corruption en entre des proconsuls et la corruption, dont aucun ne pouvait se triompher de ses vicieuses. Les égyptiens se trouvaient les égyptiens' (*Recherches pour servir à l'Histoire*, &c., p. 130.)

³ *Ibid.* p. 17. Herodotus in *Transactions of Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. i. p. 246.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 120.

⁵ There is a general agreement as to the meaning of this phrase or always found among the gods is the meaning of the phrase. See (Catalan) 31 *Bibliothèque Égypte*, p. 127, *Herodotus, History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 132, 1st ed.)

king over the whole land.' It is probable that we have here a covert indication that the prime instigators of the movement which placed Set-nekht upon the throne were the priests, who, as interpreters of the will of the gods, brought him forward, and succeeded in establishing him as king of all Egypt.

The birth and parentage of Set-nekht, , are in reality unknown.¹ It has been stated as an asserted fact,² that he was the son of Set II., but the sole foundation for this is the exhibition by Ramesses III. of the filiiy of Set II. among the kings whom he honours and acknowledges, in the pylon immediately before Set-nekht.³ This foundation is manifestly insufficient. It gives a ground for presuming that Set-nekht was of the family of Set II. — a presumption, supported by the similarity of their throne-names⁴ — but none for laying down any particular relationship. Had he been actual son, it is scarcely likely that his sonship would not have been mentioned, either by himself, or by Ramesses III., who gives us an account of his accession in the 'Great Harris Papyrus.'

Accepted as king by the priests, Set-nekht had nevertheless to establish his authority by prompt and vigorous measures. His son compares his activity with that of the god, Khnum-Sotekh,⁵ when he is roused to fury. 'He put in order,' says Ramesses, 'the whole

¹ See *Antiquities*, above quoted, p. 132. (Cf. also *Antiquities*, p. 133.)

² Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 164. It is not clear that Set II. ceded the sovereignty passed on to him at his accession to Amasis. See below.

³ See the *Deuterothron*, pt. iii. pl. 212 and 213.

⁴ Set II.'s throne-name was *Re-*

ma-kheperu-mes-sutem, Set-nekht's *Re-ma-kheperu-mes-sutem*, after the model of the latter's god.

⁵ For similar connections of Set of Khnum & Sotekh, see Brugsch's translation, the person of Set. *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 164. (Cf. also Brugsch and Lepsius' *History of Egypt*, p. 167, but the connection of Set & Khnum seems preferable.)

land which was revolted : he executed the abominables who were in Tu-Mera (i.e. Egypt) : he purified the great throne of Egypt : he was king of both the lands at the seat of Tinn (Heliopolis?) : he made the faces upright which were perverted, . . . He set up the ten p^{ies}, (and re-established) the divine offerings for the service of the gods, as their statutes prescribe.¹




Head of Set-nekht.

There is reason to believe that Set-nekht was advanced in years at his accession, and that he reigned but a short time. Ordinarily, the first task set himself by an Egyptian king was the construction of his tomb, and a shrewd guess may be given at the length of a reign by noting the extent and elaboration of the royal sepulchre. Set-nekht seems to have felt that he had not sufficient time before him to give him reasonable

¹ Brugsch, l.c. Chabas and Bressa agree nearly.

hope of constructing for himself a final resting-place of proper dignity, and accordingly appropriated to him self the rock-tomb of Saphothan and Taoutis, merely changing out the names of the original owners, and replacing them by his own.¹ He thus obtained, with slight trouble, a sufficiently dignified sepulchre—one 'richly painted and magnificent.'² While at the same time he subjected to indignity a predecessor whom he did not acknowledge to be legitimate.

It may have been also in the prospect of an early decease that Set-nekht, almost as soon as he was settled upon the throne, associated with himself as king's son Rameses, the third prince of the name, a youth of much promise, of whom he seems to have felt no jealousy. The two are exhibited in the rock-sculptured Medinet Abou,³ in a fashion which seems to place them on an exact equality, bearing the same royal titles and ensigns, having forms of the same size, and mentioned in the accompanying inscription exactly the same number of times. Except inscriptions of his name on the works of others, this is the sole monument which we possess of Set-nekht,⁴ who had evidently not inherited the tastes of Rameses II. and Sen I.

Rameses III., known to the Egyptians as Rameses hak Ou, , or 'Rameses, lord of Hebopolis,' took the throne-name of Ra user-ma ateri amun,

¹ See the *Denkmaeler*, pt. iii. pl. 29 in the *Comptes Rendus*, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 332, and *Index* and *Index* in *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of London*, vol. i. p. 170.

² Brugsch, *Hist. of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 332, *Index*.

³ See also of the *Part* set viii. p. 47. In *Index*, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 332, *Index*.

⁴ See the *Denkmaeler*, pt. iii. pl. 29 in *Index*.

⁵ I.e. the sole monument of his reign. The date is about A.D. 1000 which was sculptured in his reign, and which has an inscription containing a relation together with that of his wife. The inscription is in the *Monuments of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 332, *Index*.

𓇓𓇐𓇕𓇏𓇗, or 'Sun, lord of Truth, beloved by Ammon.' It is conjectured¹ that among the people he bore the appellation of *Rameses pa-nuter*, or 'Rameses the god,' and that the Greeks made out of this name the *Rampsesinus* of their Egyptian histories. *Rampsesinus* was celebrated for his riches,² and *Rameses III.* was certainly among the wealthiest of Egyptian kings, so that the identification may be allowed, though it is not one of much value. His earliest occupation after his accession seems to have been 'the restoration and demarcation of the several estates,'³ or rather classes, into which the part of the population directly connected with the court was divided.⁴ During the troublous period that preceded Set-nekht some confusion of the different orders and taken place, which Set-nekht had not had the time or the inclination to remedy. *Rameses* at once addressed himself to the task, and arranged the officials in five great ranks or classes, viz.: 1. The *akhen-peroo*, or 'counsellors of the Royal House,' persons who enjoyed the same dignity which was given to Joseph.⁵ 2. The *ueru*, or 'great princes,' who are thought to have been 'the governors and representatives of the king in the several nomes.'⁶ 3. The native soldiery, foot and horse, the

¹ *Brugsch's History of Egypt* vol. ii. p. 130, 131, 132. *Brugsch* explains the hieroglyphs given by the monuments, but addresses no proof. Neither *Rameses III.* has for one of his titles *pa-nuter* 𓇓𓇐𓇕𓇏𓇗, but this title is common to all the kings from a very early period.

² *Herod.* ii. c. 51.

³ *Brugsch* p. 140. Compare *Brugsch's Ancient Egypt* p. 17 and *Cleland's H. des. des. op.* 24-26.

⁴ It is evident that the classifica-

tion of *Rameses* names comprise the whole of the population above it, extending the estates, agriculture, and the native, nomadic class. It was, I think, an indication of one who was regarded as in some sense functionary.

⁵ *Herod.* ii. c. 51.

⁶ *Brugsch* p. 140. I should incline to give the word a wider meaning and regard it as denoting all high functionaries of whatever rank.

latter either identical with, or at any rate including, the chariot force—4. The foreign mercenaries, chiefly either *Shartana* or *Kahaka*, and 5. The subordinate officers and servants. The native troops are said to have amounted to some hundreds of thousands; but this is probably an exaggeration.

Having completed these arrangements in the manner which he thought most satisfactory, Rameses turned his attention to external affairs, and set himself the task of re-establishing, so far as might be possible, the authority of Egypt over those countries and districts which had passed under the dominion of foreigners during the period of revolution. It is difficult to arrange his wars in their proper chronological order, since Rameses clearly does not follow that order in his own annals,¹ but places the most important wars first. The best modern authorities are at variance upon the subject, and the order here followed, which is that of Dr Birch, must be regarded as to some extent uncertain.

A war with the Shasu, or Bedouins of South-western Arabia, who had again become dominant in the region between Egypt and Palestine, is thought to have had priority over the others.² Rameses invaded the country, destroyed the huts or cabins (*nahari*) in which they lived, killed no doubt large numbers, and carried back into Egypt a vast booty, together with numerous prisoners, whom he made over to the priestly establishments at various temples to be employed as slaves. The particular tribe of Shasu attacked in this campaign

¹ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 135. — *voilà de beaux résultats glorieux*

Chabaz, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 111. — ² Birch, *loc. cit.*

remarque que les guerres de Rameses — ³ *Records of the Past*, vol. viii. p.

ne sont introduites, non pas dans leur ordre chronologique, mais dans

is called the 'Sennu,' a name in which Dr. Brugsch recognises the inhabitants of Mount Senn,¹ or the tract south and south-east of the Dead Sea, once the special country of the Edumites, or descendants of Esau.²

Thus successful upon the north-east, Rameses was emboldened to make a similar expedition towards the north-west. Here, on the side of Libya, a serious encroachment had taken place upon Egyptian territory during the time of trouble. The Libyans, Maxyans, Ashyats,³ Auscis,⁴ and other kindred tribes, had been so daring as to overstep the boundaries of Egypt proper, and to establish themselves along the whole of the left bank of the Nile, from Memphis to the shores of the Mediterranean. They had had possession of this tract for a number of years,⁵ and had formed permanent settlements, where they lived with their wives and children, while their numerous herds grazed the rich strip of territory overflowed annually, and fertilised, by the inundation. Rameses fell upon them suddenly with a powerful force, and completely defeated them in a single great battle,⁶ after which he drove the remnant beyond his borders, making, as he advanced, numerous prisoners, and even capturing the Libyan chief. Of the prisoners taken, some were confined in fortresses, others, after being branded with a red hot iron,⁷ were pressed into the naval service and forced to act as mariners on board the Egyptian fleet. Slavery was the portion of the women and children, the cattle, which

¹ *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 140, 1st ed.

² Gen. xxxv. 8, 9.

³ The hieroglyphic name is given by Dr. Brugsch as *Ashuat*, by M. Chabas as *Ashercher*, p. 52; no doubt the Ashyats would well express the Ashyats who are called by P. 13, *U. S. v. 6*, *Ushyats*.

⁴ In the original *Haus*, which is well compared with *Amur* (Herd. v. 180).

⁵ *Records of the Past* vol. viii. p. 48.

⁶ Chabas, *Recherches* p. 54.

⁷ *Records of the Past* v. vii. p. 40. Brugsch's *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 141, 1st ed.

was too numerous to count, increased the wealth of the priest college attached to the great temple of Amun at Thebes.

The first war with the African nations is fixed by an inscription to the fifth year of Ramesses¹. He would, apparently, have been content with the laurels gained in these two minor campaigns, and would have tempted fortune no further, had he not been forced in self-defence to meet two terrible attacks, which, in his eighth and again in his eleventh year, threatened Egypt with destruction. Few things in history are more extraordinary than the aggressive movement, which suddenly, in the eighth year of Ramesses III., spread the flames of war over all the East from the skirts of Taurus to the mouths of the Nile. There is great difficulty in identifying the particular nations which took part in the expedition;² but it can scarcely be doubted that a league was formed between a number of widely separated peoples, partly dwellers in Asia Minor, partly inhabitants of the coasts and islands of Europe, and a combined attack organised, at once by land and by sea, having Syria for its immediate and Egypt for its ultimate object. The isles and shores of the Mediterranean gave forth their piratical hordes—the sea was covered with their light galleys, and swept by their strong cars—Tanaium, Sharuten, Sheklusha, Tubaa, Uashed, combined their squadrons into a fleet, while Purusata and Tekaru advanced in countless numbers along the land. ‘No people stood before their arms.’³ Bursting forth from the passes of Taurus, the hordes spread themselves over Northern Syria, wasted and

¹ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 135.
² Chabas, *Revue des études égyptiennes*, p. 10.

³ See Note III. in the Appendix.

³ So Ramesses, in the inscription translated by the *English History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 147 c, 1st ed.

plundered the entire country of the Khui, proceeding eastward as far as Canhemish; descended upon Palestine, and were about to press on into Egypt, when they were confronted by Rameses at the head of the Egyptian army. Calling in the aid of stratagem, the Pharaoh, who was probably outnumbered, succeeded, by means of an ambush in defeating his assailants, threw their host into confusion, and after an immense slaughter drove the remnant of the broken army from the field. But the struggle was even yet not over. Though the attack by land had failed, the allied fleet gallantly persevered. Quitting their defeated friends, the Tanaima, with their confederates, made sail for the nearest mouth of the Nile, hoping to find it unguarded, and intending in that case to ascend the stream to Memphis, or to ravage far and wide the fertile region of the Delta. But Rameses had made preparations against this peril. He had stationed 'a defence on the water, like a strong wall, of ships of war, of merchandise, of boats and skiffs,'¹ in other words, he had left a fleet to guard the Pelusiac mouth of the great river, and prevent the Tanaima from entering it. He also hurried in person to the probable scene of action, and arrived in time to take part in the great battle which frustrated the last hopes of the invaders, and placed Egypt once more in safety. While his naval force contended with the enemy in the shallow waters of the Pelusiac lagoon, he himself with four of his sons and his best warriors lent their aid to complete the discomfiture of the assailants by shooting them down with arrows from the shore.² If we rightly

¹ Brugnot *History of Egypt*, vol. I *Fgypte*, Antiquités, vol. I pl. 1
p. 144, col. vi. ² Compare Herodotus, *Monumenta Sto-*
³ See the representation of the *ria*, pl. cxxxii
engagement in the *Description of*

read the king's meaning in the vain-glorious inscription which he set up to celebrate his victory, the Tananians were so far successful as to break through the opposing vessels of the Egyptians, and to force their way to the shore. But here their progress was arrested. 'A wall of iron shut them in upon the lake.' The best troops of Egypt met the shores of the lagoon, and wherever the navalers attempted to land, they were foiled. Repulsed, dashed to the ground, hewn down at the edge of the water, they were sunk 'by hundreds of heaps of corpses.' After a while resistance ceased, and large numbers were made prisoners. The empty ships, stuck fast in the Nile mud, or floating at random upon the still water, became the prize of the victors, and were found to contain a rich booty. Thus ended this remarkable struggle, in which nations widely severed and of various bloods—war-cry, as one would have thought, known to each other, and separated by a diversity of interests—united in an attack upon the foremost power of the whole world, traversed several hundred miles of land or sea successfully, neither quarrelling among themselves nor meeting with disaster from without, reached the country which they had hoped to conquer, but were then completely defeated and repulsed in two great engagements—one by land, the other partly by land and partly by sea—so that 'their spirit was annihilated, their soul was taken from them.' Henceforth no one of the nations which took part in the combined attack is found in arms against the power that had read them so severe a lesson.

It might have been hoped that Egypt, raised in repute by her double victory, would now have been left

¹ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 140, 1st ed.

in peace, and have entered on a prolonged period of repose. But no—this was not to be—her trials were not yet over. Within little more than two years of the events just narrated, another furious attack was made upon her territory by a powerful enemy, seeking, like the Tekarū and Purostā, to effect a permanent lodgment within her borders, and therefore accompanied by their wives and families, their boys, their girls, their slaves, and even their cattle.¹ This time the invaders were the Masāuashā or Maxyes, who appear to have inhabited the region called Marmarica, or the Cyrenæa, the only fertile tract interposed between Egypt and the Beylik of Tunis. Already, in the reign of Menephtah, they had made one great attack upon the more western portion of the Delta, and had been defeated with fearful slaughter by that monarch.² Subsequently they had adopted a system of gradual encroachment upon Egyptian territory, and had found that system tolerably successful until, in the earlier part of his reign, Rameses III. drove them out. Now, in his eleventh year, probably under pressure from the west, they resolved upon a new invasion, perhaps hoping to find Egypt weakened by the recent contest. Their leaders were Kapur, and his son Masāshid, brave men who imperilled their lives in a well-nigh desperate undertaking. Compared with the Tekarū and Lūanūn they were an insignificant enemy; and Rameses easily defeated them in a great battle on the Canopic branch of the Nile, wherein they lost above 2,000 killed, and almost an equal number of prisoners. Kapur was captured in the course of the engagement, and after his capture

¹ Brugsch *History of Egypt* vol. *Ancient Egypt*, p. 143.
 α. p. 150, 1st ed. Compare Birch, ² See above, p. 332.

put to death.¹ Mashashal surrendered to Rameses, with such troops as had survived the fight, unconditionally. It is to be hoped that he received more merciful treatment than his father.

Of the remaining wars of Rameses III. we possess no details. From the representations upon his sculptures there is reason to believe that he conducted at least one campaign in the extreme south, and another in the remote north-east, and that in both his efforts were crowned with all the success that he anticipated. Beyond his southern frontier he attacked and defeated the Ethiopians, together with the negro tribes of the Tana and the Amar.² In Western Asia he seems to have overrun the entire territory between Egypt and the chain of Amanus, carrying off as prisoners thirty-eight chiefs, among whom were those of Carchemish and Aleppo;³ and forcing the natives generally to resume that position of dependence upon Egypt which had been originally established by the great Thothmes. We are even told⁴ that he claims in some of his sculptures supremacy over Nihariu or Western Mesopotamia, as well as over Pant, Kush, and Cyprus; but it is—to say the least—doubtful whether his dominion really extended over any of these distant regions.

The reign of Rameses III. extended over the long period of thirty-six years,⁵ and he had thus ample time, after his defensive wars were concluded, to direct

¹ *Mon. Ancien Egypte*, pp. 14^a 7.

² Ibid. p. 14. Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 150^a, 1st ed. The name of the successive line of kings appears at the head of a series of hieroglyphs captured prisoners: the sculptures of Menes-Aton. *Denkmäler*, pt. iii. p. 202.

³ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 150^a, 1st ed. *Monuments of the Past*, vol. vi. p. 28.

⁴ Written in the authors' *Monuments*, vol. iii. pp. 17, 3, 2d ed.

⁵ Brugsch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 47, Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. iii. p. 143, 1st ed.

l'appeal to those material works and interests on which the prosperity of a country, and the fame of its monarch, to a large extent depend. Of all his constructions the most magnificent was the 'beautiful temple of Ammon,'¹ which he built at Medinet Abou opposite Thebes, and which he adorned with painted sculptures commemorative of his great victories. Here are to be seen the series of drawings which represent the great campaigns of his eighth year,² exhibiting him as haranguing his troops before setting out, as accompanying them upon the march, as conquering at their head in the great land battle, as hunting the lion by way of refreshment after his warfare toils, as taking part with his sons in the sea-fight, and as returning in triumph with his numerous captives to Thebes. Here also is the 'Treasury,' celebrated by Herodotus, on the walls of which are depicted and recorded his riches.³ Here, farther, is the calendar of feasts for the first five months of the Egyptian year,⁴ which shows that on the average more than one day in five was held to be sacred. Though less imposing than the vast structures at Luxor and Karnak, the temple of Rameses III. at Medinet Abou has considerable architectural merit, while its sculptures are executed in 'a life-like and artist's style'.⁵ It is a work of which even a great monarch might be proud, and not unworthily chosen the long list of magnificent temples with which the Rameside kings adorned the cities of Egypt.

Minor altars were also erected by Rameses III. at

¹ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. I. p. 155 1st ed.

² See *Description de l'Égypte*

³ *Antiquités*, vol. II. p. 40
Kleinert, *Monuments de l'Égypte*, pl. CXXI.

⁴ Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, pt. IV. pls. 30-4, (Berl. 1857)

⁵ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. II. p. 156, 1st ed.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 156

Thibes itself to Khonsu, at Theb to Onuris or Hanneb, at Abydos to Osiris, and at Raameses to Sutech.¹ He likewise made an addition to the great temple of Ammon at Karnak, but this building is said to be 'a very ordinary piece of architecture, almost worthless in an artistic point of view.'²

More important than these minor shrines, and far more useful to those who dwelt in its vicinity, was the great reservoir which he constructed in the country of Aanu,³ by some supposed to have been at Beersheba,⁴ by others near Suez,⁵ which was sunk in the earth to a depth of fifty-two feet, the sides being lined with stone, and the whole basin edged with a quay, and walled in, so that only those who were admitted by the authorities could use the water.

Another work of utility in which this beneficent monarch engaged was the planting of trees. 'Over the whole land of Egypt,' according to his own account,⁶ 'he planted trees and shrubs, to give the inhabitants rest under their cool shade.' In a climate like that of Egypt, and a country where indigenous trees are few, no labour could be more serviceable, or more grateful to the mass of his subjects, than that which is here indicated. Barely do we find despotic monarchs so sympathetic with their people, so thoughtful on their behalf, so anxious to benefit them, as he would seem to have been. It was the crowning satisfaction of his life, that by his domestic administration and his military successes he had brought Egypt into such a condition, that 'the weakest woman could travel unmo-

¹ Herodotus, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. pp. 164-5, 1st ed.

² *Ibid.* p. 157.

³ *Records of the Past*, vol. viii. p. 40, § 7.

⁴ Herodotus, *Ancient Egypt* p. 144.

⁵ Herodotus, *History of Egypt* vol. ii. p. 144, 1st ed.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 144. Compare *Records of the Past*, vol. viii. p. 50, § 5.

tested whithersoever she wished; the mercenary soldiers might repose at ease in their cities; no enemy invaded the land; the people ate and drank in jubilee, their wives with them, and their children at their side; they did not look behind them (suspiciously); their hearts were content.*¹

It was perhaps partly in his own interest, but it may have been also with a view to his subjects' advantage, that he encouraged mining operations and trade. The turquoise mines of the *Sarabit-el-Khadim* were once more worked during his reign, and produced abundantly.² A commerce was established with a copper-producing country not previously heard of, called *Ataka*, and the ore was brought to Egypt in vast quantities, partly on shipboard, partly on the backs of asses.³ A fleet was built near *Suez* and launched upon the Red Sea, which made voyages to the coast of *Punt*, and there exchanged the productions of 'the land of *Ham* (*Khem*)' for the gums and spices, more especially the frankincense, of that remote region.⁴ The caravan route from *Coptos* to *Cassir* was re-opened, and the riches of the East once more flowed freely into Egypt from the various regions that border the Indian Ocean. The general wealth of the country largely increased, and, the revenue rising with the advance in the national prosperity, *Rameses* was able to make those enormous offerings to the principal temples, which are recorded in the document known as 'The Great Harris Papyrus.'⁵

Records of the Past, vol. viii. *knops*
pp. 70-1.

¹ Ibid. p. 60, § 11. 'There were brought to me, says the monarch, "multitudes of sea-turquoises in numerous bags carried before me, not to be seen again while there are

² Ibid. p. 60, §§ 1-5.

³ Ibid. p. 49, §§ 8-12. Compare Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 142, 1st ed.

⁴ The total size of temple gifts offered by *Rameses* occupies fifty-

It is with a pardonable pride that Rameses exclaims, towards the close of his long reign: 'The god (of Egypt) was well satisfied under my rule—I did well to gods and men also.'¹ Having repulsed two foreign invasions, having restored the land's ancient boundaries, having encouraged commerce, having stimulated production, having even provided for his people's comfort by giving them everywhere the pleasant shade of trees, he might well expect to be popular, and to terminate his time on earth, and 'join the circle of the gods in heaven,'² without suffering from that curse of despotism, conspiracy. But in a corrupt society the best have most to fear, and there is reason to believe that the Egyptian court, since the introduction of polygamy by Rameses II., had become a hotbed of intrigue and various sensualism. Eunuchs had not probably been given the charge of the royal harem,³ and had brought with them into the palace the trickery and shamelessness for which that unhappy class is noted. Moreover, a belief in magic prevailed; and as in the time of the early Roman Empire,⁴ so now men really thought that they could compass the death of one who stood in their way, bewitch his mind, or paralyse his limbs, by the use of figures in wax and of certain traditional formulae.⁵ What the exact object of the conspirators was does not appear, but it is certain that the reign of Rameses III. was, ere it closed, disturbed

our pages in the *Records of the Past*, vi. 3, and viii.

¹ *Records of the Past*, vol. viii. p. 61 f.

² *Ibid.* 65.

³ Leconte, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, v. 1. p. 412. Compare Leconte, *Mon. Ancien*, vol. ii. pp. 106-7.

⁴ See Virg. *Æt.* vi. 80; Hor. *Epod.* xvii. 74. See Sat. vi. 135, *Theophrastus* in 180. &c.

⁵ Brough, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 284. 1st ed. Many of the formulae are given in the *Records of the Past*, vol. vi. pp. 121-6, and vol. x. pp. 137-56.

by a conspiracy in which many of the highest court officials and a certain number of the royal concubines were mixed up,¹ and which can scarcely have aimed at anything less than the death or deposition of the monarch. The chief conspirator seems to have been a certain Bakakamen, house-steward, or major domo of the palace. His position giving him access to all parts of the royal residence, he succeeded in drawing over to his interests a number of councillors, scribes, and commanders of the mercenary troops, as well as certain women of the harem, and among them a lady named Ti or Tani, whom Dr Brugsch believes to have been a wife of the king.² Among the male conspirators was one who possessed a knowledge of magical arts, and who not only furnished Bakakamen with formulae that were supposed to ward off ill-luck, but supplied him also with waxen images, some of men and some of gods, the proper use of which would, it was believed, induce paralysis.³ Thus much we learn from our documents—the rest we can only conjecture. Tani had a son engaged in the conspiracy, named Pentaour. Was it the intention of the conspirators to paralyse and then kill the monarch—to proclaim Pentaour as his successor, and make Tani queen-mother? Or did they merely wish to reduce the king to inability, and themselves exercise the royal authority in his name? It is remarkable that nothing is said of

¹ The hieratic text of the Turin papyrus which contains the scene of the trial was first translated into French by M. Lefebvre in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1845. Since then a translation into English has been made by M. Le Page Rönnefort, *Records of the Past*, vol. viii. pp. 57-60, and one into German by

Dr Brugsch. The latter has been here into English by the late Mr. Evelyn Seymour, and will be found in the translation of Dr Brugsch's work as often quoted in these volumes (vol. ii. pp. 154-155).

² Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. I. p. 105, 1st ed.
³ *Ibid.* p. 104.

any intention to seek the king's life—but there is an Oriental reticence on the subject of death where kings are concerned, which may account for this omission.

After the conspiracy had reached a certain point, but before it had effected anything, by some means or other it was discovered. Too many persons had been taken into counsel for secrecy to be long maintainable; and if the conspirators really trusted to their sly enchantments, they may have acted imprudently. A blow, the plot was found out. Some four-and-forty persons were immediately arrested, and Kien-ses appointed a court of twelve high functionaries to try them. It is to his credit that, in giving them their commission, he warned them against unfairness towards the accused. * Regarding the discourses which are held about these men, he said, "which are (to me) unknown, you shall institute an inquiry about them. They shall be brought to a trial, to see if they deserve death . . . If that which has been done was actually done by them, then let their doings be upon their own heads. I am the guardian and protector for ever, and bearer of the royal insignia of justice, in presence of the god-king, Annon Kiu, and in presence of the Prince of Eternity, Ounsi."¹

We have no account of the proceedings at the trial. The report which the judges made on concluding their investigations is a formal and dry document, giving *seriatim* the names of the prisoners, the exact degree of their participation in the conspiracy, and the sentence which was passed upon them. It appears that thirteen persons, including Bakakamen and Pentaour, were adjudged to have been principals in

* Brunsch. *History of China*, vol. ii. pp. 158-3. Ital. ed. *Confucius Records of the Fair*, vol. viii pp. 57-8.

the conspiracy, while twelve others were condemned as accessories, having been aware of what was going on and given no information to the authorities. No difference, however, was made in the punishment of the two classes. All equally suffered death, the sentence upon them being that they should kill themselves with their own hand. We learn by this that 'the happy despatch,' which we have been accustomed to associate especially with one somewhat barbarous kingdom, was an institution of the Egyptians.¹

Lighter punishments were inflicted on the females who had compromised themselves, and on some of those who had turned king's evidence, but had failed to make satisfactory depositions. The latter underwent mutilation, having their noses and their ears cut off.² The former seem to have been condemned to the penal servitude of keeping a beer house,³ which was thought sufficient punishment for ladies of delicacy and refinement.

Finally, it would seem that, while the inquiry was in progress, the complicity in the conspiracy of some of the very persons appointed to conduct the investigation was detected. A brief appendix⁴ to the report of the judges states, that five persons, of whom three had been previously mentioned as members of the court, were also judged to have been accomplices in the crime, and were sentenced to expiate their guilt by death. With this strange transformation of the judges into the condemned the trial terminated, and

¹ Nor did it was now a institution at Athens, and may claim,

² Far to be compatible with civil-
ment, it was a cruel punishment.

³ For the complicity of punishment, a law had been enacted, which

are the author's. In our Monarchies
vol. iii. p. 247, 2nd ed.

⁴ Records of the Trial, vol. i. n.
p. 66, § 1 and note.

⁵ Ibid. §§ 2, 7.

Rameses, relieved from the fears and doubts that must have harassed him during its continuance, proceeded to secure the tranquility of the kingdom in the event of his death by making arrangements for the succession.

The legitimate wife of Rameses III. was a certain Nest, or Nes, who bore also the foreign name of Henamozath, and was the daughter of a certain Hebrewan-rozanth. It is suggested that she was a Hittite or an Assyrian princess,¹ but the latter supposition, at any rate, is improbable.² We are not accurately informed whether she was the mother of any of the king's numerous children, but it is tolerably certain that she was not the mother of all, since they consisted of eighteen sons and fourteen daughters.³ Rameses, it is clear, must have had many secondary wives, each of whom no doubt wished that one of her own children should succeed him. He appears, however, to have been swayed by no partiality or favouritism, but to have simply admitted the claims of nature, and given the preference to his first-born Prince Rameses Meriammon, hitherto commander of the infantry, was selected by his father from among his numerous sons, and associated with himself upon the throne under the title of Rameses-hak-im-mu-er-Anmon,⁴ or 'Rameses, Lord of Truth, beloved by Ammen.' His other sons were given high military or priestly dignities, and, in course of time, as many as ten of them attained to the throne.

In person it appears to have been much

favoured by nature. His figure in the sculptures is noble and dignified,¹ his features pleasing, his expression amiable. Something of the feminine look, which we observe in so many of the Egyptian monarchs,² characterises the countenance, which is more remarkable for sweetness than for any signs of strength or energy. In his actions, however, the king showed



Head of Ramesses III.

a firmness and a daring which his features belie, and proved himself a worthy descendant of Ramesses the second and Sethos the first, of the third Thothmes and the third Amenophis. Less distinguished certainly than these greatest of Egyptian monarchs, he yet

¹ *Description de l'Égypte*. Antiqu. vol. ii. pl. 10, 12. ² *Antiqu. vol. ii. pl. 10, 12.* ³ See above pp. 264 and 271.

inherited something of their spirit, and, in an age when despotism had set in, it was his lot to prolong the period of Egyptian greatness, and to revive the glories of a summer time that was gone by an autumnal burst of brilliant, if short-lived, sunshine. It is perhaps true¹ that, like many an Oriental monarch, he tarnished the glory of his military career by some indulgence with in the ways of the peace, and thus furnished occasion to those attacks which we find to have been directed against him by the caricaturists of his day. But, if we remember how the great men of all ages are persecuted by the scurrilous abuses of the many, the fact is not, we shall hesitate to attach serious importance to the 'a train of caricatures' reflected upon this monarch,² when, after all, may be only an accidental survivor of a class of works similar to those which in modern Europe I am well assured each sovereign, or each ministry, successively

After a reign which extended thirty-one years, the third Ramses was gathered to his fathers. He had prepared for himself a tomb of magnificent proportions in the rocky mountain opposite Thebes, which was at this time the cemetery of the kings. It consisted of the usual long tunnel, in the rock, divided into chambers, passages, and halls, and ended in a peculiar feature, unless it were that of 'a room of side-chambers, in which, among other things, all the possessions of the king, such as weapons, household furniture, and the like, were represented in shape of pictures, just as they were once actually deposited in the rooms appointed for them' in the palace. A large sarcophagus,

¹ *Herod. Ancient Egypt*, p. 14.

² *Herod. Ancient Egypt*, p. 14.

³ See *Le Livre des Morts d'Hermès*, p. 10.

Journal Asiatique, vol. i. p. 413.

the lid of which is now to be seen in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, was placed in the innermost chamber, and received the royal remains.

With Rameses III. terminated the palmy period of Egyptian greatness and glory, which, commencing with Aahmes, the founder of the eighteenth dynasty, about B.C. 1600, continued for above three centuries, till the death of the son of Setnekh, about B.C. 1180.¹ It is, of course, readily intelligible that a period of prosperity should be succeeded by one of decline, since the same law which governs individual life seems to have been appointed to rule also the destinies of nations; but it is difficult to understand, and account for, the suddenness and completeness of the collapse in this particular case, where all the vital powers seem at once to have failed, though the failure was not total, and a long and lingering decay preceded the final resolution. The lack of contemporary monuments, which is one out of many signs of the decline, adds to the difficulty of tracing out the causes which led to it, and must render any attempt at their analysis to a considerable extent speculative and conjectural.

The strength of Egypt had, from the first, consisted in its isolation and its unity. A single homogeneous people was spread along the valley of the Nile from the tower of Syene to the shores of the Mediterranean. The people was almost without neighbours, since the Nile valley was shut in on either side by arid tracts very sparsely inhabited; the sea bounded

¹ The calendar set up by Rameses III. at Medinet Aboo is thought to prove that he ascended the throne in B.C. 1181 (Leuzor, *Monumental d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i. p. 444). It has been said, and he died

in his forty-second year his death would be B.C. 1223, or 1221. The corresponding date of B.C. 1230, three reigns after this (Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 447), is in accordance

it upon the north; the Nubian desert almost cut it off from the south. United by the ties of a common religion, a common language, common ideas and customs, the people was emphatically one, had a strong national sentiment, despised foreigners, and held itself infinitely superior to all the other nations of the earth. For centuries upon centuries the policy of isolation was maintained—the negroes were not allowed to descend the Nile, nor the Greeks to ascend it;—the South and the Semitic peninsula were the limit of the Egyptian world—Europe and Asia were unknown regions to the sons of Ham—foreign manners, foreign ideas, foreign gods were either unheard of or so grossly ignored. But with the accession of the eighteenth dynasty all this was changed. The Thebanes and Amarnophes carried their arms deep into Asia—Hatshepsut encouraged commerce with Pont—Sut and Ramesses II. filled Egypt with foreign captives—later monarchs established three corps of foreign mercenaries—the ‘golden youth’ of the upper circles took to indulging in foreign travel—and, as a natural result, foreign manners crept in—the language was corrupted by a large mixture of Semitic words—the Ponticon was invaded by a host of Semitic or Semythic cities, and the old national exclusive spirit, sapped and weakened by these various influences, decayed and died away.

A second cause of the decline would seem to have been the fact that the Rameside race was exhausted, and that, the longer it continued, the weaker were the princes born of the Rameside stock and so entitled by hereditary descent to rule over Egypt. It is the fatal

¹ See above, p. 150.

² *ib.* ch. i. p. 170.

³ *Records of the Past*, vol. ii. pp.

15-119. *Ann.* the date of the travels see *Heuzenb. History of*

Egypt, vol. ii. p. 164, *loc. cit.*

drawback on the many advantages of Egyptian monarchy, but a time must arrive when the original vigour of the ruling race, whatever it was, must fail, its powers decline, and its times for its position come to an end. 'Force is a ran in families,' says Aristotle very acutely; 'after a few generations, the keenest and the greatest genius develops into madness, while solid parts become stupidity.' The *Rac es de physique* declines manifestly



Head of Rameses IV

in the monuments as time goes on, and by the date of Rameses IV has reached a point beyond which there could scarcely be much deterioration.

One further ground of internal weakness, and therefore cause of decline, is to be found in an essential feature of the Egyptian political system, whereby a considerable but inactive power was lodged in the

* Aristotle, *Rhet.* II. 15.

hands of the priests. A lucrative system may no doubt be as long lived as any other, but a system that is half hereditary, half monarchical, carries within it the seeds of its own destruction, and contains an element of weakness from which a thorough going despotism is free. A time was sure to arrive, sooner or later, in Egypt, when the *pontificals* and the *regals* would come more or less into collision, when the kings, growing jealous of the priests, would seek to curtail their powers at the risk of internal revolution, or the priests, losing respect for the kings, would stealthily creep into their places. The actual march of events in Egypt was in the latter direction. The hereditary chiefs, the *high-priests* of the god Ammon at Thebes gradually increased in power, usurped one after another the prerogatives of the Pharaohs, by degrees reduced their authority to a shadow, and ended with an open assumption not only of the functions, but of the very insignia of royalty.¹

A space of nearly two centuries elapsed, however, before this change was complete. Ten princes of the name of Rameses, and one called Meritum, all of them connected by blood with the great Rameside house, bore the royal title and occupied the royal palace, in the space between B.C. 1280 and B.C. 1100. Egyptian history during this period is almost wholly a blank. No military expeditions are conducted—no great buildings are reared—art almost disappears—literature holds her tongue. If at any time the silence is broken, if the stones occasionally lift up their voice and speak, it is either in dry literatures of old and well worn official phrases and *formulars*, or in amatory

¹ Brugsch *History of Egypt* vol. *Manual of Egyptian Antiquities*, vol. 1. p. 115, 191, 1st ed. Lewy *ant.* pp. 44-5.

plagiarists from the compositions of an earlier age. The writers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, aware that they are destitute of originality, contentedly reproduce, with slight changes, the masterpieces of the fourteenth and fifteenth.¹

The immediate successor of Rameses III. was his eldest son, Rameses IV., who bore the throne-name of Hakmaaneh Maane.² Nothing is known of him excepting that he worked with great vigour the quarries of the valley of Hammamat³ and the adjoining rocks and stony regions, which produced many excellent varieties of hard stone. When use is made of these materials it is impossible to say, since neither any great edifice, nor any large number of small statues bear his name. He set up some inscriptions and sculptures in the great temple of Ammon at Karnak,⁴ and made some small additions to his father's temple of Khonsu at Thebes, not beyond these, and some rock-inscriptions in the Hammamat region no monuments of his reign have been identified. It appears by the Hammamat inscriptions that he held the throne for at least eighteen years, and we may consequently assign him the space between B.C. 1280 and B.C. 1260.

The successor of Rameses IV. was neither his son nor his brother, nor even perhaps a member of the Rameside family. He took the quite new throne-name of Ammon-*li-khopesnef*, but also called himself Rameses, and is known as Rameses V.⁵ Some

¹ Brugsch, *History of Egypt* vol. i. p. 175, 1st ed.

² Ibid. p. 107. Lepsius, *Königsnachricht* Taf. xxviii and Taf. xxxix, Nos. 101 and 101 bis.

³ Brugsch, *History of Egypt* vol. i. p. 107, 71, 1st ed.; Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 147.

⁴ *Denkmäler*, pt. iii. ss. 320-322.

⁵ We are even told that he took in the *Tubaneh-Mehat*, which is a work of some importance. (See Lepsius, *Gründriss der Geogr. Könnig Rameses IV.* Berlin, 1867.)

⁶ Lepsius, *Königsnachricht*, Taf. xxxix, No. 505.

suppose him to have been a descendant of Siptah,¹ but this is wholly uncertain. His only records are his tomb in the Bubastis Mound, afterwards appropriated by his successor, Rameses VI., and a single inscription at Siut is ~~entirely~~ in inflated terms, which represents all Egypt as ~~conquered~~ ~~under~~ ~~his~~ ~~rule~~ at his coronation, and the country as flourishing under his rule.² It is certain that no dependence can be placed on such self-flattery, and not improbable that it covers an uneasy feeling, on the part of the monarch who has recourse to it, that his rule is the reverse of popular.

On the death of the usurper the throne was regained by the Ramesse family, and occupied (as is thought) by two princes, sons of Rameses III., who ruled conjointly.³ These were Rameses, his second, and Mer. Tutm, his seventh son, who bore the office of High Priest at Ra in Heliopolis. It is suggested that while Rameses VI. reigned in Thebes and bore sway over the Upper Country, his younger brother held his court at the City of the Sun, and ruled over the Delta. In the tomb which the elder prince appropriated from his usurping predecessor, an astronomical setting is thought to furnish the date of B.C. 1210 for the time of its ornamentation,⁴ so that that year may be regarded as included in the sixth Ramesse's reign. No historical events can be ascribed to it, but we have evidence that the Egyptian dominion still extended over the distant South, where a 'Prince of Kush' still ruled as the

¹ Brugsch, *History of Egypt* vol. ii. Table of ancient Egyptian.

² *Ibid.* pp. 171-2. Perkinson, pp. iii. p. 22, &c.

³ Brugsch, *History of Egypt* vol. ii. pp. 172-3, 179-8. Others connect Mer. Tutm between Rameses VIII.

and Rameses IX. (*Arch. Ancient Egypt*, 147.)

⁴ *Arch. Ancient Egypt* p. 147. Brugsch, *History of Egypt* vol. ii. p. 173, 174-5. The inscription on the exedra at Siut. Perkinson astronomer, &c.

Pharaoh's viceroy, with Anouïs of the various districts under him, and the Pharaoh's sashetantÿ was marked by the erection of statues in his favour, and the settlement upon them in perpetuity of landed estates.¹

Conjointly with these two princes, or after their decease, two other sons of Ramesses II. assumed the royal title, and are ranked as Pharaohs under the names of Ramesses VII. and Ramesses VIII. The latter bore the throne-name of Set-hi-khepsedÿ,² which would seem to indicate that he was a votary of Set-hi, whose worship was, it is clear, always held in respect by the Ramesside monarchs. Nothing is recorded of Ramesses VII. and VIII. beyond their names. We may perhaps assign them, conjecturally, the space between the 1230 and the 1220.

With Ramesses IX. we had again to the immediate issue of Ramesses III., and descend, at least a generation, to a grandson or great grandson of the last warrior monarch. This king took the throne-name of Neferkara-setepen-ra,³ and held the throne for at least nineteen years,⁴ thus bringing us nearly to the close of the thirteenth century. His reign is remarkable for two most circumstances. One of these was the trial of a number of sacrilegious malefactors, who had invaded the sanctity of the royal burial-places, plundered the royal mummies of their golden ornaments, burnt the coffins, and thrown the corpses on the ground. Kings and queens likewise suffered. Antefô of the eleventh dynasty, Sutek-adonors of the thirteenth, a queen Isis, a Ra-Sekenen, and even at

¹ Breghet, *History of Egypt*, vol. No. 512.

² No. 1747 (see ed.)

³ Ibid. Table n. at end of vol. n.

⁴ Lepsius, *Königsbuch*, Taf. 21. (Also, *Ancient Egypt* p. 148.)

⁵ The nineteenth year of Ramesses IX. is given for the same month.

Ammonias, the first of the ~~ammon~~.¹ All belief in the continuity that beigned a king, according to the Egyptian religious system, must have passed away when a thieves' society was formed for the special purpose of secretly opening and robbing the tombs of the kings, in which even sacerdotal persons took a part.² We may perhaps trace in the proceedings a concealed purpose of bringing royalty into contempt; we cannot be mistaken in gathering from them a weakening of the old superstition which viewed the kings as gods. As yet, however, the new ideas had the general public sentiment against them. Opinion was greatly shocked by the disclosures made, and officials of the highest rank were nominated to form a court of inquiry which should investigate the business, and inflict condign punishment upon the guilty. Amenhotep, the high-priest of the Great Temple of Ammon at Thebes, the chief of the Egyptian hierarchy, presided over the court, and, after acquiring a positive number of the accused, not perhaps the least guilty, condemned eight persons as the real culprits, who were either hanged or else put to death.³

The other novelty, which documents of the time put before us, is the new position, relatively to the king, that the high priest of the Theban Ammon seems now to begin to occupy. An acute observer, familiar with all the monumental evidence, makes indeed the remark, that, *from the time of Rameses III.*, the holy fathers, who bore the exalted dignity of chief priest in the temple-city of Ammon, were always coming more and more into the foreground of Egyptian history.

¹ Breghet *History of Egypt*, vol. i., p. 106-107.
² *ibid.*, vol. i., p. 107, and *ibid.*, vol. i., p. 102.
³ Breghet *ibid.*, vol. i., p. 102.
⁴ Breghet *ibid.*, vol. i., p. 102.

Their influence with the kings assumed, step by step, a growing importance.¹ But even he does not note any tangible change until the reign of Ramses IX.,



Head of Ramses IX.

when for the first time the high-priest of Ammon at Thebes steps forward as the great guardian, protector, and restorer of his shrine, and, 'whereas formerly 1

¹ Dargieh *History of Egypt* vol. ii. p. 78. Latet. Cf. note Chabas. *Mélanges Egyptologiques*, also some, vol. ii. p. 1-2, Borch. *Levant Egypt* p. 136. Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i. p. 449. The

position of the priests of Ammon at this time has been compared to that of the Mayors of the Palace under the later Merovingian kings of France.

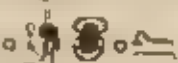
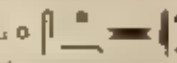
was the priests who expressed in the name of the gods their thanks to the *king* for the temple buildings at Thebes; now this is reversed, and it is the king who testifies *his* gratitude to the chief priest of Amun for the care bestowed on his temple by the erection of new buildings, and the improvement and maintenance of the older ones.¹ The office of high priest has become hereditary, and in the tenth year of Rameses nefertkara-solepenta, Amen-hotep, who has recently succeeded his father, Ramesseu-nekht, appears on the walls of the temple as the first person in a scene where the king only simply to assign him his reward, and to see it conferred upon him by his great dignitaries. A titular superiority still attaches to the Ptahpriest, who is 'the fountain of action, and whom Amen-hotep frequently acknowledges to be 'his lord,' but practically there can be no doubt that Amen-hotep plays the principal part. He is 'the teacher of the king,' he has 'found the holy coast of Amun in hasteening to decay, and has taken in hand its restoration,' he has 'strengthened its walls,' he 'has built it anew,' he 'has made its columns,' he 'has inserted in the gates the great folding doors of a new wood.' The high priest is the active mover in the whole business, the king is passive, he looks on, 'sees and admires what is done,' approves it, and rewards it. But the initiative has passed into the hands of his nominal subject, and it is easy to see that ere long there will be a division of the royal authority, and the Ptahpriest will possess its shadow, the high-priest its substance.

Still, the royal authority in Egypt died hard, and, as we said last, soon revived. The reign of Rameses IX.

¹ Brugsch, *loc.*

² *Ibid.* p. 170.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 189-191.

let us us, as we have seen,¹ to the close of the thirteenth century. It is not until the opening of the eleventh that we find the high priests of Ammon completely established in the position of actual rulers of the country. An entire century thus passed between the first beginning of serious encroachment upon the Pharaohs' position and the transfer of their authority to the priests of Ammon. During this century four oder rulers, bearing the name of Rameses, and distinguished by special epithets, seem to have occupied the throne—viz., Rameses X,² bearing the further names of Klept-nak-ra Setep-en-ra,³ , and Ammon-
 Ikhopeshief,⁴ Rameses XI,⁵ known as Sesh-en-ra,⁶ Meremutot,⁷ ; Rameses XII,⁸ called Tser-en-ra,⁹ Setep-en-ra; and Rameses XIII.¹⁰ The two first Rameses reigned at least thirty-three years,¹¹ and the thirteenth, at least twenty-six years,¹² thus holding the throne, between them, for considerably more than half a century. Their predecessors may have been almost as long lived; and the four reigns may well have occupied the space between B.C. 1200 and B.C. 1100.

One event only can be assigned to this obscure period. An inscription set up in the temple of Khonsu, founded at Thebes by Rameses III., relates a tale which must undoubtedly have had an historical foundation, though its details may have received much amplification and embellishment. The document belongs to

¹ See p. 392.

² Lepsius, *Aegyptisch*, Taf. xl. No. 517.

³ *Ibid.* Taf. xli. No. 518.

⁴ *Ibid.* Taf. xli. No. 519.

⁵ Rameses XIII. was known as Meremutot Setep-en-phutab, as Shashinas and as Neter-hak.

⁶ Lepsius, *Königsbuch*, Taf. xi. No. 522.

⁷ *Records of the Past* vol. ix. p. 60, § 28. Brugsch, *History of Egypt* vol. ii. p. 180, 1st ed.; *Lucas, Ancient Egypt*, p. 153.

⁸ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 180, 1st ed.

the time of Rameses XII. It relates that, once upon a time, when this prince was in the land of Nubia,² collecting the revenues or tributes that were annually rendered to him annually by the territorial chiefs of those parts, one of them, called the chief of Baklan, placed his daughter among the tribute-bearers, and thus drew the king's attention to her beauty, which was so great that he immediately made her his wife, and advanced her to the first rank in his harem. Some time after this, Rameses XII. was in Thebes, performing his religious duties in the great temple of Amun, when an extraordinary embassy from the father-in-law sought his presence, and requested that the Egyptian monarch would send the best skilled man of his court to recover the queen's sister, Benarash, who was struck down by a sudden sickness. Rameses complied. The man supposed to be most skilled, the scribe, Hothem-lab, was selected, and set back with the envoys to Baklan, with orders to place at the knowledge that he possessed at the disposal of the chief of the country. We are told that, on his arrival, he pronounced the case of Benarash to be one of possession by an evil spirit,³ but that after various attempts he was forced to acknowledge himself unable to cope with the demon. Upon this it would seem that he returned to Egypt, and the chief of Baklan sought assistance elsewhere. But eleven years later⁴

¹ For the full narrative, see *Revue de l'Égypte*, vol. ix. p. 304, and the same *History of Egypt*, vol. ix. pp. 134-7. See also

² See *Archæological Egypt*, p. 140. The reader should know that the word *nu* is not to be exactly and rightly rendered by Nubia, which

³ 

⁴ The twenty-sixth year of the reign of the father-in-law, as stated in the text of the *Revue de l'Égypte*, vol. ix. p. 304.

⁵ In the twenty-sixth year of Rameses XII. (see at p. 140.)

he once more had recourse to his son-in-law. This time his envoy requested that the god Khonsu, the expeller of evil spirits, might be sent from Thebes to Bakhtan³ for the relief of the possessed princess. Rameses hesitated, and after consulting the oracular shrine of Khonsu in the local temple, and receiving a favourable reply, he dispatched the image of Khonsu in a sacred ark borne on the shoulders of ten priests,⁴ and escorted by a troop of cavalry, from Thebes to Bakhtan, in order that a second attempt might be made to cure the princess. After a journey which lasted seventeen months,⁵ the ark arrived, was joyfully received by the afflicted prince, and brought into the presence of his daughter, from whom it at once expelled the demon. Great joy now prevailed in Bakhtan for the spirit departed,⁶ and the recovery of the princess was complete. It might have been expected that the ark which had wrought the cure would have been immediately restored to its Egyptian owners with grateful thanks for the loan of it: but the power shown seemed to the prince of Bakhtan so valuable that he was loth to lose possession of so great a treasure. Accordingly he resolved to retain the ark in his own capital, and actually had it in his keeping for three years and nine months,⁷ at the end of which time he was induced to relinquish it under the following circumstances. He dreamed that he saw the god

Requests for gods were not unusual in ancient world. Herod. v. 67. vi. 64. &c. The god was identified with his image, and an image supposed to wear the deity. A special power was thought to attach to some images.

¹ For a representation, see Dr Birch's *Ancient Egypt*, p. 161.

² *Records of the Past* vol. xv. p. 50, § 17.

³ Ibid. § 22.

⁴ So Brugsch (*Hist. of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 146) and Dr Birch in the *Records of the Past*, vol. xv. p. 46, § 24. It was the period of three years, four months, and five days.

Khonsu in the shape of a golden sparrowhawk, quit the ark, and fly away in the direction of Egypt. Waking up to a state of great agitation, he summoned the priest attached to the ark, and, declaring to him what he had seen, announced our determination to send the holy structure back, and desired him to make the needful preparations. The return journey seems to have taken even a longer time than the journey from Egypt, for it was not until the thirty third year of Ramses² that the ark of Khonsu was once more safely reposed in its proper chapel in the temple at Thebes.

The interest of this narrative is considerable and of a varied character. If we accept the identification of 'Nehar' with Nabatana, we shall have to regard it as indicating the retention to a late date as late as the 11th of Egyptian supremacy over Mesopotamia,³ and we must ask ourselves, Who is this king of Bakhtan who dwells at such a remote distance from Egypt, yet regards himself as in some sort an Egyptian tributary, and where is this Bakhtan, not elsewhere mentioned in the Egyptian records, yet apparently a place of considerable consequence? Bagistan (now Behistan) and Labatana (now Hamadan) have been suggested,⁴ but these seem too remote, and the historian thinks that a town of no great importance in Syria, called elsewhere Bakh or Basi, may be

The phrase *an-ni-neh-eh* *an-ni-neh-eh* 'no one was surprised' and 'not at all' has been translated 'astonishment' 'astonishment' and 'astonishment' as 'astonishment' to the general use of such as physical affection would be intended.

¹ *Records of the Past*, vol. v. p. 481, § 28.

² So Lepsius and *Monatsh. d. Histor. Akademie*, v. l. i. p. 44.

³ Bagistan by M. de Rougé has been identified by Brugsch but the latter writer has since altered his conjecture (*History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 167, lat. ed.).

intend.¹ Some have gone so far as to suppose that the prince of Babilonia, who detained the ark, was Tiglath-Pileser I, the first great Assyrian conqueror² (about B.C. 1130-1110); but, besides the want of correspondence between the names 'Babilonia' and 'Asshur,'³ the entire position of the prince of Babilonia in relation to Egypt is one which we cannot conceive Tiglath-Pileser occupying. Tiglath-pileser was an independent and warlike monarch who rose away (about the close of the twelfth century B.C.) over the entire tract between Babilonia on the one hand and Thebais on the other. He perhaps on one occasion made Egypt pay him tribute,⁴ and it is probable that he should, a little time before or a little time later, have paid tribute himself to Egypt, and sent his daughter to be a secondary wife of the Egyptian monarch. The greatness of Assyria began about B.C. 1100; and it is unlikely that Egypt maintained her Mesopotamian conquests much beyond that date. We have a really correct idea of the decline of the Egyptian power in the nineteenth century, and the improbability that even Rameses III. possessed any real authority in the countries east of the Tigris. Supposing that he did, his weak successors must almost certainly have lost it. Chusir, Rastemir, who was independent king of Mesopotamia within a century of the Exodus,⁵ must have been long anterior to Rameses III., and Egyptian rule, even over Syria, must have been lost before he could conquer Palestine.

¹ *Præp. Henry of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 164, 165.

² Mr. D. Hincks in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archæologie*, for 1874, p. 103.

³ The capital city of Tiglath-Pileser I. was called Asshur, as well as his country.

⁴ *Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I. in *Revue de la Bible*, vol. x. p. 101, par. 15.* It is quite true, however, that the Assyrian monarch really represents Egypt.

⁵ *Revue de la Bible*, p. 124.

⁶ *Journ. of the A.S.S.*

We incline therefore to believe that 'Nehur' in the tablet of Rameses XII. is not Nahara n., that Bakhtan is not a country very remote from Egypt, and that the long time spent upon the road by the envoys who carried the ark was owing to the difficulty of conveying so large and unsteady a structure on the shoulders of a few priests along the rough tracks of the country.

The Rameses who closes the long list, and is reckoned the last king of the twentieth dynasty, was Rameses XIII., who, as if an exuberant amount of titles could make up for a deficiency in power, called himself Men-ma-ra, Setep-en-pah, Saemunas, Mer-namon, Ramessu, Neter-mak-on.¹ His principal monuments are found in the temple of Khonsu at Thebes, which he appears to have delighted in ornamenting.² The other indications of his reign are scattered and fragmentary,³ they scarcely contain a single notice of historic interest. By one of them, however, we learn that, weak and insignificant as he was, Rameses XIII. held the throne of Egypt for above twenty-six years.

The decline of Egypt under this dynasty was not merely a decline in power. Architecture, glyptic art, literature, in rules—all suffered, and suffered a most deadly. After the death of Rameses III. not a single great building was set on foot by any of the Egyptian kings, much less was any architectural novelty attempted. The monarchs contented themselves with making small additions to old edifices, having no pretension to originality, and inferior in every respect to the buildings where to they were appendages. The

¹ To print. *Comptobuch*, fol. 20.
N. 522. Brugsch. *History of Egypt*,
vol. II. p. 16, 1st ed.

² *Denkmäler* &c. pt. III. pl. 534.

³ They occur at Karnak (ibid.

pl. 271, El-Kanh ib. pl. 280 &),
Abd-el-Qurna (ibid. p. 303 & 304),
and the Biban-el-Mouk (ibid. pl.
334).

grand features of ancient times were not even imitated. No more hypostyle halls, like those at Luxor and Karnak—no more gigantic obelisks—no more mighty obelisks. The greatest works which the kings under took were their tombs. These were still ‘hypogæes,’ or subterranean galleries excavated in the rock, and divided into a number of halls, passages, and chambers. They still attained a considerable length, and were ornamented with interesting paintings. But neither in the size nor in the finish of their ornamentation did they rival the similar works of former days—such as the tombs of Amenhotep III., of Seti I., and Ramesses II. They ceased to have any architectural features, such as columns, or piers, or chambers with arched roofs.¹ Even the paintings were, on the whole, less interesting than those of an earlier age.

In Egyptian art, connoisseurs detect a falling off as early as the latter part of the reign of Ramesses II.,² but the decline is not palpable until the reign of Ramesses III. is past. Then the ‘grand style’ disappears. The great compositions, covering entire pylons, and comprising hundreds of figures, come to an end—no new scenes are portrayed—rather, a wearisome sameness, a repetition of *usque ad nauseam* of the same stereotyped religious groups, mortals and deities. If there is any change, it is in the grossness of the religious representations, which increases.³ Again, the range of art is narrower. Domestic and military scenes almost drop out; but few animals are depicted; we have no

¹ Lepsius, *Handbook of Egyptian Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 244. The tombs of Seti I. and Seti II. are good examples, and in the latter the painted chambers are almost entirely without ‘roof’ (p. 245 f.).

² Leclercq, *Manuel d'Histoire*

Ancienne, vol. i. p. 496.

³ See the *Iconographie ptolémaïque*, pl. 213 a, 213 b, 220 b, c, and d, f, g, h, i, and compare Bessénar, *Monuments Égyptiens*, vol. 4, p. 4, which belongs to the reign of Ramesses IX.

banquets, no gardens, no fishing, no fowling, no games. And the drawing certainly deteriorates; there is a feebleness and clumsiness in the outlines, a rigidity in the forms, as well as a want of variety, which are displeasing.

Statuary also falls off. The figures become unduly elongated, and are finished with less care.¹ They have no longer the truth to nature which is possessed by the earlier statues, while they are certainly in no respect idealised. Moreover, unless we include statuettes, they become, comparatively speaking, rare, as if they had gone out of fashion, and were no longer demanded from the artists.

The decline of literature is even greater and more surprising. After the galaxy of talent which clustered about the reigns of Rameses II. and Menophthah,² after the masterpieces of Pentaur, Kakaui, Schiseneh, Eana, and others, suddenly there comes a time when literature is almost dumb, when 'the true poetic inspiration appears to have vanished, and the dry official tone to have taken its place.'³ When abstracts of trials,⁴ lists of funerals, ⁵ tiresome enumerations in the greatest detail of gifts to the gods,⁶ together with fulsome praises of the kings, either by themselves or others,⁷ form the substance of the written compositions which survive, and which we have every reason to believe a fair sample of the literary produce of the age. Not a single name of an Egyptian writer be-

¹ *Percy Guide to Antiquities* p. 17.

² See above p. 304.

³ Brugsch, *History of Egypt* vol. ii. p. 104.

⁴ See *Records of the Past* vol. vi. pp. 57-65.

⁵ *Records of the Past* vol. vi. pp. 57-65. (See also *Records of the Past* vol. vi. pp. 57-65.)

⁶ *Records of the Past* vol. vi. pp. 57-65.

⁷ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. pp. 104-105.

⁸ *Records of the Past*, vol. vi. pp. 57-65.

⁹ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. pp. 104-105.

¹⁰ *Records of the Past*, vol. vi. pp. 57-65.

¹¹ *Records of the Past*, vol. vi. pp. 57-65.

longing to this dreary period remains on record, not a single work of imagination can be ascribed to it. Astronomy may ultimately owe something to the tables of the hours and of the risings of the stars which decorate the tomb of the sixth Rameses in the Biban-el-Muluk,¹ but literature, in the proper sense of the word, can never receive any enrichment from the curt and dry records, the legal *formulae*, the endowment deeds,² the royal orders,³ or the religious mysticism,⁴ which constitute the whole that remains to us of Egyptian literature during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

In morals, the decline had begun under Rameses II., with the introduction of polygamy. It advanced under Rameses III., when the court became a hotbed of intrigue and conspiracy, the highest officials combining with the women of the harem to seek the life of the king, or reduce him to an imbecile condition, by magical arts,⁵ enchantments, and 'all sorts of volubility.'⁶ The grossest license appears in the caricatures of the time, which assume that the king is a voluptuary, and satirise his weakness with a shameless disregard of decency.⁷ Not long afterwards sacrilege becomes fashionable, and a 'thieves' society' is formed, containing several members of the sacerdotal order, for the

¹ Brugsch calls these tables 'the most valuable contribution to astronomical science for all times' (*History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 173, let. ed.). But I am not aware that they have been of any service as yet.

² Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. pp. 174-6, let. ed.

³ Ibid. pp. 181 and 189.

⁴ The *Hymns of Hades*, as recently set forth (*Monuments of the Past*, vol. ii. pp. 86-134), though taken

principally from the tomb of Seti I. (a part derived from that of Rameses VI). It is mostly magical. So are the *Amulet Papyrus*, which is pronounced to be a work of the thirteenth or twentieth dynasty' (ib. p. 186).

⁵ Ibid. p. 174.

⁶ Brugsch *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 184, let. ed.

⁷ Lenormant, *Manual of Egyptian Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 413.

purpose of opening and plundering the ancient tombs, without even sparing those of royal personages.¹ Inquiry on the subject is baffled for a considerable period, probably through the high position of some of those engaged in the transactions.² These transactions incurred the grossest abuse of the dead bodies, which Egyptian notions made almost the extreme of wickedness. When at last punishment overtakes some of the offenders, it is inadequate, the greater number of the condemned merely suffering the bastinado.



Dress of a Noble in the time of Ramses III.

Civilisation and the arts of life reached perhaps their highest development under Ramses III. It is

¹ See above, pp. 381-2.

² See Chabas, *Mémoires Egyptologiques*, tome viii. pp. 47-173.

then that we find the most luxurious fautenls and ottomans,¹ the richest dresses, the most gorgeous river-bouts,² the most elaborately carved musical instruments.³ After his time Egypt became, comparatively speaking, poor; and, while the general mode of life continued much the same as before, there was a falling



Dresses of an Egyptian Noble and his Wife (20th Dynasty.)

off in grandeur and magnificence. Dresses became somewhat more complicated,⁴ but less splendid. Anklets were no longer worn, ear-rings became rare, and

¹ Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, ed. 2, pl. x (pp. nilo-page), and p. 410, No. 180.

² Rosellini, *Monumenti Etruschi*, vol. 2, p. 200, and vol. 3, p. 200. These vessels, which belong to the time of Ramses IX., have gaily patterned and gilded collars ornamented with figures of men, and

storage jars gaily painted and terminating in the head of the god Horus, or of the king.

³ Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians* (ed. Birch), vol. 2, p. 100, and vol. 3, p. 400. Deukender, pt. 1, no. 230.

⁴ See, e. g., *Denkmäler*, pt. 1, pl. 214, 238, 234.

bracelets ceased to be jewelled. On the other hand, the wigs of men and the hair of women (if it is indeed their own) were worn longer, and arranged more elaborately.¹ The absurd fashion still continued of turning up the toes of sandals to a height of two or three inches. Monkeys continued to be kept as pets,² the lotus blossom was still the usual adornment of the head for ladies at feasts, and lotus collars were still placed round the necks of guests. Music appears in the sculptures rather as an accompaniment of sacred ceremonies than as a means of amusing and entertaining company.³ The domestic scenes of the period are, however, so few, that we cannot pretend to anything like a full knowledge of Egyptian private life at the time; and, on the whole, it is perhaps most probable that (on the main) it retained under the twentieth dynasty the general character which it had acquired under the great kings of the eighteenth and nineteenth.

¹ See the woodcut opposite

² Ibid. pl. 234.

³ See the *Denkmäler*, p. 100 pl. 240 d.

architect,' and 'administrator of the granaries.'¹ Having thus managed to get all the most important offices of the government into his own hands, he succeeded, probably at the death of the king without issue,² in quietly stepping into his place. No doubt, his position as head of the priestly order secured him important support in every city of the empire, but had not the Egyptians generally, and the military class in particular, been weakened and demoralised by their long abstention from war under the last ten Rameside kings, he would scarcely have settled himself upon the throne without a struggle. Of this, however, there is not the slightest trace. Herhor appears to have been troubled by no internal disturbances. He adorned Thebes with sculptures,³ led the forces of Egypt beyond the frontier to the more distant portions of Syria,⁴ obtained military successes, and left his crown to his son or his grandson, who succeeded to his authority without difficulty.

It is thought that Herhor, in order to strengthen his power, allied himself with a foreign monarch. The names of his wife, Nefeh, and of his children,⁵ are in Egyptian, and have been pronounced Semitic,⁶ but perhaps with scarcely sufficient evidence. The pos-

¹ See Lepsius, *Ueber die XVII. Dynastie* (in *Konigsnamen*), p. 230; Brugsch, *Monuments of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 102.

² See Lepsius, *l.c.* Brugsch, *l.c.* 102, suggests that he drove Ramses VIII. into banishment.

³ *Denkmäler*, pl. iii. pp. 243-244.


⁴ Brel., *Ancient Egypt*, p. 154. Brugsch also Herhor's victory in a Syrian war suggests that he conquered some of the nomadic tribes of the interior of the desert, to which

he had a right. *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 163, *l.c.* (ed.). But I see no ground for this supposition.

⁵ Herhor seems to have had numerous wives, and an equal number of children. *Denkmäler*, pl. iii. pl. 247, n. 6.

⁶ See Birch, *l.c.* 'You are given as a son,' as an Egyptian word signifying 'sweet in his disposition.' *Hieroglyphics*. See Brugsch, *l.c.* *Monuments of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 45.

tive statement that 'he allied himself closely with one of the kings of Nineveh, in whose friendship he sought a support to his usurpation,'¹ is one of those bold assertions in which modern historiographers indulge because it is impossible absolutely to refute them. The assertion is simply without one atom of foundation. There were plenty of Semites within the limits of Egypt, with whom Her-hor might intermarry if he so pleased, and the population of Syria was in the main Semitic, so that he had no need to go to the distant Assyria for a Semitic wife. Netem, his consort, is never said to have been of royal birth. She is the *suten hent uer*, or 'great royal consort' but not *sute i sat*, 'king's daughter' or 'princess.' Moreover, neither the name of his wife, Netem, nor the names of any of his sons,² are definitely Assyrian. Her-hor was probably married long before he ascended the throne, to one of those Semitic Egyptians who abounded in the north-eastern provinces,³ and allowed his wife to give her children Semitic names, such as were common in those regions.

It is remarkable that, on assuming the royal title, he did not at first lay aside the designation of 'high-priest of Ammon,' but wore that descriptive epithet regularly in one of his royal scutcheons,⁴ while in the other he took the title of Si-Ammon, , or 'son of Ammon,' which was subsequently claimed and borne by Alexander. Later, he called himself Si-Ammon only.⁵ It would seem that when he relinquished the

¹ Lepsius, *Monum. d'Histoire Ancienne* viii. 1. p. 430.


² Lepsius, *Monum. d'Histoire Ancienne* viii. 1. p. 430.

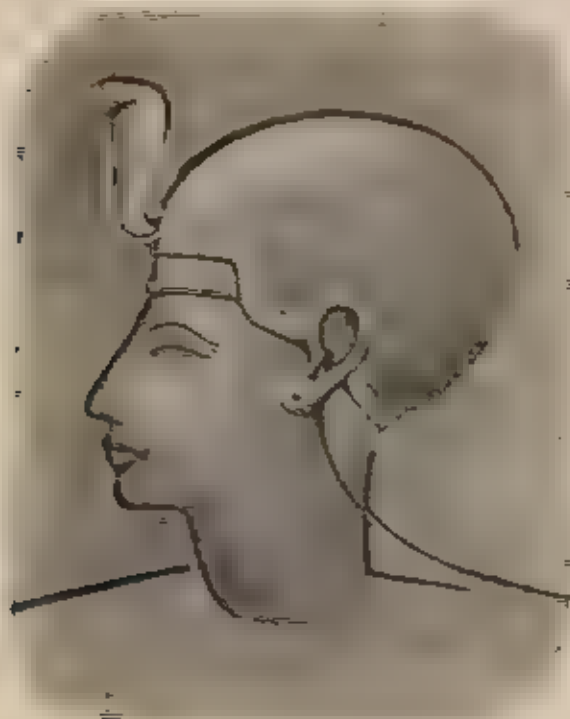
³ Lepsius, *Ueber die XXII. Ko-*

ingendynastie, p. 287. Compare also, pp. 161-1.

⁴ Lepsius, *Monum. d'Histoire Ancienne* viii. 1. p. 430.

⁵ Lepsius, *Ueber die XXII. Ko-*

priesthood for himself, he devolved it upon his eldest son, Pankh, , thus securing its continued connection with the crown, and stamping his dynasty with a permanent hereditary character.




Head of Her-hor.

The personal appearance of Her-hor was pleasing. In the sculptures his features are delicate and good; his expression mild and agreeable.² Though he claims to have reconquered the Ruten, we cannot suppose him to have been much of a warrior, and he certainly did

² See the woodcut, and compare Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, p. x. 3, 40.

not revive the glories of the empire to any considerable extent, or re-inspire the Egyptians with military ardour. On the whole, he would seem to have been a mild prince, not much more energetic than his Ramesid predecessors; and we may suspect that he took the bold step of usurping the crown, rather at the prompting of his order than inspired by any personal ambition.

It is uncertain whether Her-hor's son, Piankh, or his grandson, Pinetern, was his successor. Brugsch and Brugsch accord to Piankh the title of king,¹ but it is admitted that he has neither the cartouches nor the royal name, nor the royal title affixed to it, on any of the monuments. The monuments are so scanty, that the negative argument is perhaps not of very much weight; and it is just possible that Pinetern, the son of Her-hor, succeeded his father, and held the crown for a few years before the accession of Pinetern.

Pinetern, the grandson of Her-hor and son of Piankh, whose name is expressed in the hieroglyphics by , took to wife a princess of the Rameside (or else named) Ramaku or Rakuma,² and so strengthened his title to the crown, which is thought to have been disputed by the male descendants of the old Rameside kings, who had been banished with their partisans to the lesser Oases. Pinetern had fixed his court at Tanis in the Delta,³ the native place of his grandfather, and had probably thereby offended the Thebans, who, to

¹ Brugsch, *Egypt's Monarchs* v. 12 pp. 576-7; Brugsch, *History of Egypt* i. 1, at the end of the volume.

² I am not aware of any monuments erected by Piankh. His name is found almost exclusively on monuments erected by his son

(See Brugsch, *History of Egypt* i. 1, pl. 251 and 252; Rosellini, *Monumenti* i. 1, pl. 251 and 252; Brugsch, *History of Egypt* i. 1, pl. 251 and 252).

³ See Brugsch, *History of Egypt* i. 1, pl. 251 and 252.

⁴ Brugsch, *History of Egypt* i. 1, pl. 251 and 252.







vent their spleen, took the part of the Rameside pretender. Hereupon Pinetem, in the twenty-fifth year of his reign, despatched his son Ra-men-khepr, or Men-khepr-ra, * — x, on whom he had devolved the office of high priest of Ammen, to the southern capital, to persuade or coerce the disaffected.¹ After punishing a certain number, he appears to have received the submission of the rest, but at the same time to have accepted their view, that clemency rather than severity was the proper course to be pursued towards the rebels, and that the first step necessary to be taken was the recall of the exiles from the Oasis. These are said, in the hyperbolical language of the East, to have amounted to a hundred thousand; and though this is no doubt an exaggeration, it is one which implies that they must have been in reality very numerous, and that the internal troubles, to which the usurpation of the high-priests had led, must have become ultimately of a very serious character indeed. Men-khepr-ra, as Pinetem's representative, allowed the exiles to return, and pledged his word that the practice of banishment for political offences should be discontinued. After this we do not hear of any more disturbances, and we may conclude that the policy of conciliation was successful.

Men-khepr-ra must, soon afterwards, have become king. His name occurs, enclosed in the royal cartouche, on bricks brought from the city of Khelb in the Heptanomis,² on which we find also the name of his wife, Hesi-em-kheb;³ but we cannot ascribe any events to the period during which he occupied the throne. The supposition of a great Assyrian attack

¹ Fropseh, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. pp. 194-7, 1st ed.

² *Dunkelstele*, pt. III. pl. 261 i, k.
³ *Ibid* pl. 261, l.

upon Egypt under a king, Sheshonk, and his son Nimrod, which has the authority of one important name in its favour,¹ is not generally accepted, and seems to lack evidence.

Other eventless reigns belonging to the dynasty² are those of Pa-seb-en-sha,   , Pinetem II., and Hor Paschensha,   . It is generally agreed that these kings belonged to the same family with those already enumerated, but their exact relationship one to another and even the order of their succession are uncertain. Egyptian history is a blank during this space. We only know that friendly relations were established during the course of it between Egypt and Palestine, where an important kingdom had been set up by David and inherited by Solomon, that a monarch of the Tanite line consented to give one of his daughters in marriage to the latter prince,³ and that under these amicable relations of the two powers, a brisk trade was carried on for horses and chariots between the Egyptians on the one hand and the Syrians and Hittites on the other.⁴ Egypt was at the same time, as no doubt it was always, open as an asylum to the political fugitive; and the Hadad, prince of Edom, who fled from David, found a refuge with some monarch of the Tanite dynasty,⁵ just as Jeroboam, at a later date, found a refuge with Shishak.⁶ The country was quiet, without disturbance from within or menace from abroad; the kings were peaceful, never forgetting that they were priests as well as sovereigns; the people

¹ *Brough's History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 155.
ii. pp. 197, 202.

² *Leopoldus über die XVII. Dynastie*, p. 2-4. *Amphibolus*, vol. i. 2a, *Bach's Ancient Egypt*,

³ *1 Kings* ii. 1, vi. 8.

⁴ *Ibid.* x. 25.

⁵ *Ibid.* xi. 18, 20.

⁶ *Ibid.* xi. 40.

were satisfied to apply themselves generally to useful trades and productive employments; they were no longer assailed either from the west or from the north, since the Libyans had been taught a lesson, and the 'war of Troy' had changed the condition of the powers of the Mediterranean; they were safe upon the side of the east, since they had a bulwark in the new empire raised up by the arms of Israel; and on the side of the south the Ethiopians as yet gave no sign. Cloud and tempest were gathering, and would burst a fury upon the land at a not very distant future; but as yet the atmosphere was serene—thunder did not even mutter in the distance—the calm prevailed which is generally thought to portend a storm.

The duration of the dynasty is calculated by Manetho¹ at 130 years, and, having regard to the synchronism between Sesostris and Solomon, we may assign it, without much chance of serious error, the space between B.C. 1100 and B.C. 975.

¹ Ap. Syncell. *Chronograph.* p. 73, a.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE TWENTY SECOND AND CONTEMPORARY DYNASTIES
(ABOUT B.C. 1773-750).

The Twenty-second Dynasty not long ran but Babemir. Ancestors of Sheshonk I - his longin descent - his Marriage with a Priest's Daughter. His Reception of Jews and his great Expedition into Palestine - his Arabian Conquests. His Rites - his and his Successors. His Successors - Death of the ruler, and Accession of Osorkon I. Powerful Reign of Osorkon. Reigns of Takelut I and Osorkon II. Expedition of Jews into Ethiopia. Reigns of Sheshonk II, Takelut II, Sheshonk III, Phus, and Sheshonk IV. Other Contemporary Kings. Rise of Psushki. Disappearance of Art and Literature under the Sheshonks.

If the names of the twenty-second dynasty are correct, that of the twenty-second dynasty is correct, as the names of the dynasty are not the same as the names of the dynasty from the first and last of the dynasty.

We are asked to see in the establishment of the twenty-second dynasty the effect of the absolute conquest of Egypt by the Assyrians,¹ which resulted in the establishment of a major branch of the Assyrian royal family upon the Egyptian throne, and the subjection of the country for nearly two centuries to a foreign yoke. But a large number of important considerations oppose themselves to the reception of this novel theory, which has not, so far as we are aware, been accepted by any Egyptologist of repute, except its proponent. In the first place, the Assyrians appear to have been at the time in question exceptionally weak;² and whereas, rather more than a century earlier

¹ Herodotus, *History of Egypt*, vol. II, pp. 197-200, 1st ed.

² See the author's *Ancient Assyria*, vol. II, p. 51, 2nd ed.

(B.C. 1100), they carried their victorious arms across the
 Euphrates into North Syria, and even very later (B.C.
 875) reduced the Phœnician towns to subjection,² in
 the interval—from B.C. 1100 to B.C. 900—they were
 in a depressed and debilitated condition, of the incapa-
 bility of making extensive foreign conquests. Secondly,
 it is certain, that the Egyptians neither speak with any
 distinction of any foreign attack upon their independ-
 ence at this time, nor use the term 'Assyrian'—with
 which they were well acquainted³—in any connection
 with the kings of this dynasty. The term used in such
 connection, and supposed to designate 'Assyria,' is
Mut,⁴ which may perhaps mean 'the people,' but
 which has no more connection with the word Assyria
 than with Palestine, or Babylon, or Persia. Further,
 the new names which now come to Egyptian history,
 and which are thought to support the Assyrian theory,
 are decidedly non-Assyrian, and, so far as is known,
 were never borne by any Assyrian person.⁵

and the author's *Answer* Mon-
day 21. 10. 167, and so

^c $\frac{1}{2} \log 4 = 1$, $\frac{1}{2} \log 4 = 1$



[illegible]

in the inscription of *The Times* (1) (See above, p. 256.)

¹ Herodotus, *History of Egypt*, vol. II, pp. 135-136.

[illegible]

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Manetho, who, living under the Ptolemies, had no false shame leading him to conceal the subjection of Egypt by her neighbours—who called the seventeenth dynasty Phœnician or Arabian,¹ the twenty-fifth Ethiopian,² and the twenty-seventh Persian³—declared the twenty-second to be Bubastite,⁴ and therefore native Egyptian. His statement is confirmed by the fact, that two of the kings⁵ called themselves *Sr Bst*, or 'Son of Bast'—the goddess from whom Bubastis took its name, and who was especially worshipped there. It appears⁶ that a certain Sheshonk, a Bubastite contemporary with one of the later kings of the twenty-first dynasty, took to wife a princess of the Tanite house, named Meht-en-hout or Meht-en-uskh,⁷ and led by her a son, Namut, who became the father of a second Sheshonk, . This second Sheshonk, having royal blood in his veins, was selected by a later Tanite king as a fitting husband for his daughter, Khatmat , and was thus led to raise his thoughts to the crown. Whether he usurped it, or overtook it, in the gift of his wife, or the failure of hers

let one of the prophets—Sheshonk, as we have noticed, has a Hebrew name, *Sekhu*, but as *Seknesne* is never pronounced *Sekhu*, Dr. Larcher is in error as to the Semitic origin of his name, whereas this they were possibly 'Ivans' and not Semites (*Antiquities of Egypt*, p. 163).

¹ See above, p. 140.

² Ap. Syncell. *Chronograph.* p. 74 B.


³ *Ibid.* p. 75 C.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 73 B.

⁵ Osorkon II. and Sheshonk III. See below, pp. 430 and 431.

⁶ The early history of the Sheshonk family is well known to us

by one of the Apis stelæ discovered by M. Mariette (see below, *Le Serapeum de Memphis*, p. 22). An excellent account of this discovery will be found in the excellent brochure of Lepsius, *Ueber die XIII. Königsdynastie*, pp. 25 et seqq.

Her rank is shown by the prefix *mtw nrt* —which occurs before her name, (Lepsius, p. 26 et seqq.).

⁷ Lepsius gives the first, Dr. Birch the second of the names. Mariette was probably a daughter of Men-kheper or Psephos (Psephites).

made in the Tanite line,¹ is doubtful; but perhaps it is most probable that he was regarded as the rightful heir. Shortly after his accession, he took the throne-name of Hat-khepr-ru-septen-ra, and bore this name on his second shield on most occasions.²



Head of Sheshonk I. (Shishonk).

It was probably not long after his accession that he received a fugitive of importance from the neighbouring country of Palestine, where Solomon still occupied the throne of his father David. This was Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, an officer who had held high employment under Solomon,³ but had become an

¹ See Wilkinson on the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 74 (ed. in 1825). ² *Debmater* pt. iii. pls. 252-4. ³ *Revel. in Mon. Ancien*, pl. cxlix. ⁴ *Mon. d'Hist.* ⁵ *1 Kings* xi. 28. *Ancient*, vol. i. p. 452).

object of suspicion because it had been prophesied that he would one day be king of ten out of the twelve tribes of Israel. To prevent the accomplishment of this prophecy Solomon wished to put Jeroboam to death,¹ he, however, contrived to effect his escape, and became a refugee at the court of Sheshonk, where, according to tradition,² he was well treated. When Solomon died, some time after Jeroboam returned to his native land; and the prophecy of Ahiab was fulfilled under the circumstances related in the First Book of Kings.³ The Israelites elected Jeroboam to a throne sovereign; but he probably felt his tenure to be insecure, and consequently made representations to Sheshonk which caused that monarch to undertake an important military expedition. The Egyptians had for several centuries known no tag of war, but a number of mercenary soldiers had been introduced as a sort of police and there was thus a standing army of a certain amount, consisting mainly of the Libyans of the west, and the negroes and Ethiopians of the south, which preserved internal order, guarded the frontiers, and might be employed, if need were, beyond them. Sheshonk, a new king of a new dynasty, would be anxious to show his power. He attacked the Hittites,⁴ to impress the nation favourably by the display of energy and military daring. If he could count on the friendship of Jeroboam, he would be exposing himself to little danger, and he might gather laurels, such as had been unheard of for above a century, without any risk of a reverse. Accordingly he determined on a great

¹ Kings ii. 46.

² See the various apoph additions to the First Book of Kings, especially the second, where Jeroboam is said to have married a daughter

of Sheshonk. Compare Syncellus (*Chronograph.* p. 144 A).

³ Kings x. 29.

⁴ See above, page 400, note 4.

EXEDON into Palestine. Collecting the whole body of the mercenaries, and adding to them probably some Egyptian slaves, he was able to raise a force of twelve hundred chariots, sixty thousand horse,¹ and footmen 'without number,' at the head of which he entered the Holy Land 'in three columns, as has been supposed'²—and, spreading his troops far and wide over the country, 'took the fenced cities which pertained to Judah and came to Jerusalem.'³ Now for the first time since they entered the 'Land of Promise' had the Jews to contend with their great southern neighbour—now for the first time did they come in contact with huge masses of disciplined troops, armed and trained alike, and warriors by profession. The crowds of horse, the vast body of chariots, the countless number of the footmen which swarmed over the land, seem to have overawed their minds, and prevented the very thought of an organised resistance. In vain had Rehoboam, immediately after Jeroboam's revolt, fortified a number of the towns of Judah,⁴ especially those towards the south and south-west,⁵ in anticipation of an Egyptian attack. At the sight of the advancing host the cities opened their gates, or fell after brief sieges,⁶ and in an incredibly short space of time the triumphant Pharaoh appeared before the Jewish capital, which yielded at discretion. Sennacherib entered the city, stripped the temple of its most valuable treasures, and plundered the royal palace;⁷

¹ See 2 Chron. xii. 3. The twelve hundred chariots of this passage are a number of the soldiers, but it is difficult to believe that Egypt even at this early period possessed so many. The text is used to support a number of theories as to the date.

² Herod, *Antiquities of Egypt*, p. 156.

³ 2 Chron. xii. 4. Compare 1 Kings xiv. 25.

⁴ 2 Chron. xi. 5-11.

⁵ See Strabo, *Geography*, *Madagasc*, *Arabia*, *India*, *Macedonia*, *Lybia*, *Tokos*, *Hellas*, &c.

⁶ 2 Chron. xii. 4.

⁷ 1 Kings xx. 21. 2 Chron. xxx. 9.

not accepted Rehoboam's submission, allowed him to remain in Jerusalem as tributary prince,¹ and marched away his troops to further conquests.

Jeroboam, it would seem, had work for his ally to do, not in Judaea only, but also in his own territory. The Levitical cities, scattered about the land, were hostile to him,² and many of the Canaanite towns had either never been subdued, or had taken advantage of the disruption of the kingdom to regain their independence.³ Sheshonk is found, by the list of the conquered cities and tribes which he set up on his return home, to have carried his arms over the kingdom of Israel no less than over that of Judah, and to have captured in the former a large number of Levitical cities, such as Bezek, Gibeon, Mahanaim, Beth-horon, Kedemoth, Baerath or Hebron, Anemath, &c., and a certain number of Canaanite ones. He may even be traced across the Jordan valley, when he took Beth-shan into the trans-Jordanic region, where he captured Mahanaim and Arzer, and thence into north-western Arabia, where he reduced the Edomites, the Temonites,⁴ and several tribes of the Hagarites.⁵ Thus his expedition, though not to be compared with the great campaigns of Thutmose I. and III., of Sen I. or Rameses II., had a considerable success. Jeroboam, the friend and ally of Egypt, was strengthened and helped; Rehoboam was made a tributary, and the Arab tribes south and east of Palestine were reduced to dependence.

On his return to Thebes from Asia, with his

¹ This is implied in the expression, *that shall be his servants*.

² *that they may know my service and the errors of the kingdoms* (2 Chron. xii. 21).

³ 2 Chron. xi. 13-14.

⁴ See the remarks of Mr. R. Stuart Poole in his *Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. iii. p. 1294.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 1288.

prisoners and his treasures, it seemed to the victorious monarch that he might fitly seek to emulate the glories of the old Pharaohs, not only in war but in the arts of peace. Sen and Ramesses had eternalised their victories by inscribing them upon imperishable stone at Thebes—why should he not follow their example, and set up his memorial in the same place? He was high-priest of Ammon in Ayt,¹ and the Great Temple of Karnak was thus under his special care; it was therefore at that place that he resolved to impress upon the stone the image of his own person and the record of his successes. On the exterior southern wall of this building, in the so-called portico of the Babastites, he caused himself to be represented twice—once holding by the hair of their heads thirty-eight captive Asiatics and threatening them with uplifted mace,² and a second time leading captive 133 cities or tribes, each specified by name, and personified in an individual form, though the form is incompletely represented.³



Supposed Head of the Pharaoh.

Out of all these, the greatest interest will always attach to that which bears the inscription, 'Yuteh-Mak,' and represents either the captive Judean kingdom, or Rehoboam himself.⁴

Besides engraving his own reliefs on a part of the wall of the Temple of Ammon, Seshonk built a sort of

¹ *Denkmäler*, pt. iii. pls. 253 b, c, 254. Ac.




² Ibid. pl. 263 a.

³ Ibid. pl. 262. Compare Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, p. 131 v.

⁴ From an incorrectness may be taken to both the proposed transla-

tions of 'Yuteh-Mak.' 'Judah, a kingdom,' and 'Judah's king.' But Mr. S. A. P. Peck has shown that the former rendering, at least, is a possible one (*Smith's Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. iii. p. 1208).

entrance hall, which opens from the south, close by the east wall of the sanctuary of Rameses III., into the great front court of the temple.¹ A record in the quarries of Siutis shows that he drew the stone for this edifice from that locality, and that he gave the order for the stone to be hewn in the twenty-first year of his reign.² As no higher date than this is found on his monuments, and as Manetho gave him exactly twenty-one years,³ we may assume as highly probable that his reign was not much farther prolonged, and assign him the period from about B.C. 975 to B.C. 953.

Two sons of Sateshonk I. are known to us. The eldest, who was named Sumpot or Anpot,  received during his father's lifetime the title of high-priest of Amun-Ra in Thebes⁴ and commander-in-chief of the Theban soldiers.⁵ He also presided over the working of the quarries at Siutis.⁶ Apparently, however, he died before his father, and so made way for the second son Oseshonk, , who took the throne-name of Sokhem-khepr-ra-sotep-en-ra,⁷ and held the throne, according to Manetho, for fifteen years,⁸ from about B.C. 953 to B.C. 938. It is thought by some⁹ that, like his father, he was ambitious of military glory, and that he followed his father's example by making a great expedition into Palestine, being, in fact, the Zerah, or Zerah, , who invaded Judaea in the reign of Aza, the grandson of

¹ Brugsch *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 33, 1st ed.

² *Denkmaeler*, pt. ii. pl. 274 c.

³ *Manetho's Chronography*, pp. 73, 74 b.

⁴ Brugsch *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 213, 1st ed.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 212.

⁶ *Denkmaeler*, pt. iii. p. 257 d, e.

⁷ *Ann. Soc. Sci.* 1857.

⁸ This was the view of Dr. Harkness. M. Leboucq, however, the expert opinion of the reign of Oseshonk I. but without mentioning him with Zerah. *Mon. et Hist. Anciens*, vol. i. p. 453.

Bahobam.¹ But the dates of the two expeditions, which fell thirty years apart, and the epoch of Zerni, 'the Usate' 𓂏𓂏𓂏, are against the view. Osarkon I cannot possibly have been termed 'the Usate', since his father and mother were both native Egyptians, and as Shishak's expedition was made tolerably late in his reign,² and Osarkon probably did not outlive him above fifteen years, the date of Zerni's expedition would not be reached until Osarkon's reign was over. There is every reason to believe that he was a peaceful and wholly undistinguished prince, content to add a few vassal-tribes to the Bahasite portion of his father,³ and to rule Egypt in quietness during such term of life as Heaven might allow him. His portrait, as given by Roscham,⁴ is that of a mild prince, not remarkable for energy or determination.



Head of Osarkon I.

Osarkon I was followed upon the throne by his son, Takemti or Takant, 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏, who assumed the title of S-Hes, 𓂏𓂏, 'son of Isis, and further took the throne-name of Hat-mesep-en Anun in neter-hak-tas. It is noteworthy that, in the early part of his reign, he

¹ 2 Chron. xiv 9-13.

² Jeroboam died to Shishak soon after Shishak began to reign. 1 Kings ii 27, which was in the twenty-fourth year of his reign, at v. c. ix 30, 31. He must have remained at the court of Shishak some fourteen or fifteen years. The expedition was not earlier than four years afterwards (ib. xiv 28). These dates scarcely have been earlier than Shishak's

eighteenth year.

³ *Trismelele* pt. ii pl. 26 b. c.

⁴ *Monuments Egyptiens* pl. vii 40.

⁵ Breasted, *History of Egypt* vol. i p. 214, let. ed. The documents are a few and scanty for the period that has been attempted to be given here, and are respecting the details, but of very unequal and uncertain value. I cannot, I am sorry to say, find for the Breasted's opinion between the two brothers.

was engaged in a struggle with his younger brother, Sheshonk, the son of Osarkon I. in a Theban princess, Keramot, and that, although successful, he had to concede to the cadet of his house the new and high title of 'Lord of Upper and Lower Egypt,' which is found attached to his name in the inscriptions. Sheshonk was also recognised as 'High priest of the Theban Ammon, and thus enjoyed a dignity not much inferior to that of his brother. He likewise bore the office of 'commander-in-chief of the troops.' Takelot led a short and undistinguished reign. He has left no monuments, and is only known through the Apostles, who gave him a wife called Kapes, and a son Osarkon,¹ who succeeded him.

The second Osarkon reigned at least twenty-two years.² He could have been either a son of the goddess Bast, the queen of Bubastis, and also took the throne-name of Userma-ra-sutep-on-Ammon. Chronological considerations³ make it probable that the great expedition into Palestine, ascribed in the Second Book of Chronicles to 'Zerah the Ethiopian,' took place in his reign, either under under his own auspices, or under those of an Ethiopian general, to whom he entrusted the command of his army. The Hebrew Zerah, צרה, may possibly represent the Egyptian Osarkon, and Osarkon II may be called an Ethiopian, because his

¹ Manetho reckoned twenty-five years only for the three kings who followed Sheshonk I. (ap. Syncell. *Chronograph.* p. 710). As one of them—Osarkon II—reigned at least twenty-two years, and the time assigned is left for the two others. Of course Manetho may have been mistaken, but the want of monuments for the reigns of

Takelot I and Sheshonk II tends to confirm him.

² Lepsius, *Erster the XXII. Ägypten*, pp. 254-5. Compare Manetho, *Le Vroisième de Memphis*, p. 22.

³ An Apis died after he had attained in his twenty-third year. Manetho, *Scorpium* p. 161.

⁴ See above, p. 423, note¹.

mother, Kapes, was an Ethiopian princess;¹ or the Pharaoh, whose mercenary troops were largely Ethiopian, may have placed the invading army under a leader of that nation. The object of the expedition was to bring back Judaea, which had revolted,² to the



Head of Osarkon II.

subject position which had been imposed upon her by Shishlak (Shishlak). The attack, however, completely failed. Inspired by the words of Shenamdi, which assured him of victory, the Jewish king, Asa, the

¹ There is no proof of this, and it is only thrown out as a conjecture, but the name is a new and strange one, certainly not Egyptian. ² Asa's revolt is indicated by his fortification of his stronghold (1 Kings xiv. 6-7).

grandson of Reheboam, boldly met the invader in the open field, engaged his numerous host, who has vaguely estimated at 'a thousand thousands,' and completely defeated it in a great battle.*

Osenkon II. appears to have had three wives.¹ The eldest of these bore the same name as the queen of Sesshok I., Keramat, and was probably by birth a princess of the royal house. She was the mother of Sesshok II. (who, at his father's twenty-third year, was old enough to exercise the functions of royalty at Memphis), and must therefore have been taken to wife by Osenkon before, or soon after, he ascended the throne. Another of his wives, named Desemkheb, bore him the princess Thes-hes-per, while a third Mut at ankhes, was the mother of prince Namp-t, who became 'overseer of the prophets and commander of the soldiers' at Hieracopolis Magna,² governor of the Thebaid, and high priest of Ammon at Thebes.

The crown prince, Shesheks, as governor of Memphis, celebrated the funeral rites of a deceased Apollon in his father's twenty-third year,³ and probably succeeded the throne soon afterwards. He was even less distinguished than his predecessors, and apparently had but a short reign.⁴ The throne-name which he assumed, and which distinguished him from the other Shesheks, was Sesesh-kheper-ra-sotep-en-Ammon.

The remaining monarchs of the dynasty were


* 2 Chron. xiv. 9-13. As Zerubbabel was a descendant of David, it is probable that the army was as numerous as that of Sennacherib, whose chariots were 1,200. The Assyrian king, however, is said to have been victorious only 'every time round.'

Lequeux, *Kompendium*, fol. 135. No. 589, 594 and 597.

¹ Bousset, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 316, text.

² Mariette, *Scripsum de Memphis*, &c.

³ See above, p. 425, note¹. The arguments here add apply equally to the reigns of Takout I. and Sineschem II.

Tikelti II., called Si-Hesi, or 'son of Isis, like the former prince of the name, and also Hut-khepr-ia-sotep-en-ra; Sheshank III., known as Si-Hesi and User-ma-at-sotep-en-ra; Pamiu, , called User-ma-at-sotep-en-minon, and Si-shonk IV., called A-khepr-ra. These four princes are thought to come in the regular line of succession,¹ from Sesotris II., and, together with Sheshank I., Tikelti I., and the two Osorkons, to make up the nine monarchs whom Manetho assigned to this royal house.² Egypt rapidly declined under their government and once more suffered by internal dissension; rival dynasties established themselves at Thebes, Tanis, Memphis, and elsewhere,³ Thebes acquired a preponderating power in the south, and the Empire tended to dissolution. Disturbances are spoken of as occurring as early as the reign of Tikelti II., both in the south and in the north,⁴ and very soon the entire attention of the rulers was diverted from public works and foreign expeditions to internal quarrels and dissensions. The descendants of the great adversary of Rameسيس still claimed the royal title, and exercised a precarious authority at Thebes, while the twenty-third dynasty of Manetho reigned at Tanis and Bubastis, and an upstart prince, called Teuchaplilus or Tacheklit, held Memphis and the Western Delta. At

¹ See Lepsius, *Über die XVII. Dynastie*, p. 107. *Revue Archéologique*, vol. x. at the end of the volume. Dr. Birch has, however, assigned the Tikelti II. who is mentioned as a contemporary of Sheshank III. (*Ancient Egypt*, p. 168.)

² See Lepsius, *Über die XVIII. Dynastie*, p. 107.

³ Lepsius, *Manual of History*, vol. i. p. 134. *Revue Archéologique*, vol. x. pp. 210, 24, &c.

⁴ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 17. *Revue Archéologique*, vol. x. p. 7.

⁵ This dynasty appears to have commenced some three hundred years before the Christian era, and to have lasted for more than a thousand years. Manetho assigns to the founder, who is given the name of Acha, a Phoenician, who, according to Manetho, said as a Latin name of which there is no trace in any monument, and assigns him thirty-four years.

Napata, on the Upper Nile, a certain Piankhi obtained sovereign power, and by degrees established a sort of protectorate or suzerainty over the whole of Egypt. As this change marks one of the main crises in Egyptian history, and is connected closely with the period of the twenty-fourth, or Ethiopian dynasty, its consideration is deferred to the ensuing chapter.

Art under the 25th dynasty did not so much decline as I suppose. A certain number of porticoes and bas-reliefs¹ were indeed added to the Temple of Karnak by the earlier monarchs, but these weak efforts are wholly devoid of artistic value; and after a time they are discontinued, as though the kings were ashamed at the contrast between their own feeble performances and the great works of former sovereigns. The Apis-sela continue, but are made memorial stones, with no reference to rank as works of art.² Stagnation and decay characterise the tombs of the time, which repeat antique forms, but want out any of the artistic spirit. Statuary almost entirely ceases;³ a certain number of statuettes may be owing to the time,⁴ but life-sized figures are almost wholly wanting.

The condition of literature under the dynasty is similar. Excepting a few coffin-tablets without the slightest literary merit,⁵ and some magical texts and spells,⁶ nothing seems to have been written. The literature

The most important of these monuments are given in the *Échénolaph*, pl. vi. where they occupy an entire page of the plates (p. 152-153). See also Mariotti, *Sculptures de Memphis*, p. 240 et seqq.

Two statues only belonging to the time are mentioned in the *Échénolaph*, pl. vi., pls. 25a and 25b. The British Museum has 1 tomb-stone.

¹ A bas-relief of a king (No. 2577) in the First Egyptian Room of the British Museum, and a statue represented by a cartouche in *Échénolaph*, pl. vi., p. 240 et seqq.

² See Herodotus, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, pp. 243-244 and 245-246, ed.

³ The *Magical Papyrus*, translated by Dr. Lepsius in the *Monuments of the Phœ*, vol. iv, pp. 145-200.

nature of the time is reduced to the two branches of the mystic and the commonplace. On the one hand, we are gravely informed that 'when Horus weeps, the water that falls from his eyes grows into plants producing a sweet perfume. When Baba (Typhon) lets fall blood from his nose, it grows into plants changing to oslars, and produces turpentine instead of the water. When Shu and Tefnut weep much, and water falls from their eyes, it changes into plants that produce incense. When the Sun weeps a second time, and lets water fall from his eyes, it is changed into working bees; they work in the flowers of each kind, and honey and wax are produced instead of the water.'¹ On the other hand, the eternity of inscription on hard stone is bestowed on statements that 'King Sheshonk caused a new quarry to be opened to begin a building,'² or that 'in the year 2, the month Meshir, on the first day of the month, under the reign of King Ptolemy, the god Apis was carried to his rest in the beautiful region of the west, and was laid in the grave, and deposited in his everlasting house and his eternal abode. He was born in the year 28, in the time of the deceased King Seshonk III. His glory was sought for in all places of Lower Egypt. He was found after some months in the city of Ha-shed-mout. He was solemnly introduced into the temple of Ptah, beside his father, the Memphitan god Ptah, of the south wall, by the High-priest in the temple of Ptah, the great prince of the Mashmush, Petise, the son of the High-priest of

¹ appears to have been written by one or more writers in period two or the twenty-four and the twenty-six dynasties. *ibid.* p. 116.
² The spots in the copy of Herodotus' history in the same form of literature, and approach to, *History of the Four* vol. vi p. 212, cited

Murphy and great prince of the Masutah, Takhut, and of the princess of royal race, Thesbastper, in the year 28, in the month Paophi, on the first day of the month. The full life time of this god amounted to twenty-six years.¹ Such are the highest records of Egyptian antiquity in the two centuries subsequent to which intervene between bc. 975 and bc. 750.

¹ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 25. Ital. ed.

tract was inhabited for the most part by wild and barbarous tribes—herdsmen, hunters, or fishermen—who grew to corn, were entertained with bread, and subsisted on the milk and flesh of their cattle, or on game, fowls, and fish, salted or raw.¹ The tribes had their own separate chiefs, and a knowledge of no single head, but on the contrary were frequently at war one with the other, and sold their prisoners for slaves. Such was Ethiopia in the common vague sense, but by this must be distinguished another narrower Ethiopia, known sometimes as Ethiopia Proper, or Ethiopia above Egypt,² the limits of which were, towards the south, the junction of the White and Bar Niles, and towards the north the Third Cataract.³ Into this tract, called sometimes 'the kingdom of Meroë,' Egyptian civilisation had long before the eighth century, decidedly penetrated. Temples of the Egyptian type, stone pyramids, avenues of sphinxes, had been erected,⁴ a priesthood had been set up,⁵ which was reported as derived from the Egyptian priesthood, no national institutions had been adopted; the whole tract formed ordinarily one kingdom, and the customs were not very much different from the Egyptians in arts or manners, or very different from their customs, manners, and mode of life. Yet to trace the difference was not great. The Ethiopians were darker in complexion than the Egyptians,⁶ and possessed probably a greater

¹ Herod. ii. 10, 22. Strabo, xvi. l. 3. Plin. vi. 26. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 853. 854. 855. 856. 857. 858. 859. 860. 861. 862. 863. 864. 865. 866. 867. 868. 869. 870. 871. 872. 873. 874. 875. 876. 877. 878. 879. 880. 881. 882. 883. 884. 885. 886. 887. 888. 889. 890. 891. 892. 893. 894. 895. 896. 897. 898. 899. 900. 901. 902. 903. 904. 905. 906. 907. 908. 909. 910. 911. 912. 913. 914. 915. 916. 917. 918. 919. 920. 921. 922. 923. 924. 925. 926. 927. 928. 929. 930. 931. 932. 933. 934. 935. 936. 937. 938. 939. 940. 941. 942. 943. 944. 945. 946. 947. 948. 949. 950. 951. 952. 953. 954. 955. 956. 957. 958. 959. 960. 961. 962. 963. 964. 965. 966. 967. 968. 969. 970. 971. 972. 973. 974. 975. 976. 977. 978. 979. 980. 981. 982. 983. 984. 985. 986. 987. 988. 989. 990. 991. 992. 993. 994. 995. 996. 997. 998. 999. 1000.

² Herod. ii. 140. Plin. Geograph. 53.

³ These limits must be understood as approximate, and not exact. The limits of the Meroë kingdom varied at different times, or in different

perhaps in different

⁴ See the notices in Herod. and Strabo, the *Descriptive of Greek and Roman Geography*, and compare Winckelmann's *History of the Fine Arts*, pp. 41, 2, note 4, 3rd ed.

⁵ Herod. ii. 140.

⁶ This is very strongly marked in

infusion of Nigritic blood, but there was a common stock at the root of the two races—Cush and Mizraim were brethren.¹

In the region of Ethiopia Proper a very important position was occupied in the eighth century by Napata. Napata was situated midway in the great bend of the Nile, between lat. 18° and 19°, where for a time the mighty stream ceases to flow to the north, and takes a course which is considerably south of west. It occupied the left bank of the river in the near vicinity of the modern Gebel Barka. Here, as early as the time of Amenophis III., a great sanctuary was raised to Ammon by that distinguished king.² and here, when the decline of Egypt enabled the Ethiopians to reclaim their ancient haunts, the capital was fixed of that kingdom, which shortly became a rival of the old empire of the Pharaohs, and aspired to take its place. The city increased in size; new temples were raised to Osiris and other Egyptian gods, avenues of sphinxes adorned the approaches to the temples, sepulchral monuments were erected in the shape of pyramids; the entire city had a thoroughly Egyptian aspect; and Egyptian deities dominated the names of the inhabitants.³ The Theban god, Ammon-Ra, was recognised as the supreme god of the country. The king's title name was formed exactly according to the old Egyptian pattern. The Egyptian language and writing, divisions of time, and everything else relating to manners and customs, were preserved.⁴ Though an Ethiopian city, Napata had all the appearance of an Egyptian one; and nothing

¹ The Egyptian was a great statue, which was

the Egyptian was a great statue, which was

the Egyptian was a great statue, which was

the Egyptian was a great statue, which was

² See also p. 464.

³ Herodotus *History of Egypt* vol.

p. 227, 1st ed.

showed its foreign character, but a certain coarseness and roughness in the architecture, and an entire absence of any attempt at originality in the artistic forms or in the mode of employing them.

Napata was also a place of natural wealth. The kingdom of Meroë, whereof it was the capital, reached southward as far as the modern Khartoum, and eastward stretched to the Abyssinian high lands, and the long level valleys of the Atbara and its tributaries, together with most of the tract between the Atbara and the Nile. This was a region of great opulence¹—a country many miles of good, deep, fertile, rich soil, bounded by woods of date palm, akacia trees, and box, some excellent pasture ground, and rich in domestic and suitable for the growth of flax and other sorts of grain. A sort of many kinds of agriculture² abounded in the Atbara and other streams, with the general plain; pasturage was favourable for commerce with the tribes of the interior, who were able to furnish a almost inexhaustible supply of very skins, and black leathers. Napata continued grown to Roman times a place of importance, and only sank to ruin at the close of one of the campaigns of Petronius against Chabrea in the last century after our era.³

It is thought⁴ that during the troubles which issued in the supersession of the first Tande dynasty by that of the Sh-shanks, a branch of the family of


¹ See Mr. Beke's account in Mr. C. R. Savory's *The Kingdom of Meroë and Roman Geoponics*, &c. p. 10.

² Beke's *Nile Tributaries* p. 2. On the soil of the Nile valley, which is very fertile, or irrigated, the following crops are raised:

³ *Strabo's History of Egypt*, &c.

⁴ See Beke's *Nile Tributaries* p. 10. It is probable that the family of the Sh-shanks, who were the founders of this dynasty, the same as the family of the Ethiopian Pharaohs, there is little to prove any connection of the kind between the two. The family of the Sh-shanks is probably the same as the family of the Ethiopian Pharaohs.

Her hor transferred self from Tiches to Napata, and, intermarrying there with the principal Cushites of the place, was accepted as a royal house, and founded the northern Ethiopian kingdom, which after a time became dangerous to the Egyptians. The princes of Noph¹ at first were of no great importance; but as Egypt became more and more disorganised and debilitated, their power grew relatively greater, until at last they found themselves able to assume the protectorate of one Egyptian kingdom after another, and ultimately, about B.C. 750, to exercise a species of lordship over the whole country.

The individual who is first found occupying this novel position is a certain Ptahhotep, a ♀ , who calls himself 'Mn-Ankhon, or Men-Ankhon, 'beloved of Ankhon, and is thought to have been a descendant of Horus.' On a stela found at Gebel Barkal, the ancient Nubian prince, who assumes the ordinary Pharaonic titles, 'Son of the Sun' and 'King of Upper and Lower Egypt,' states that in his twenty-first year, a great revolt broke out in Egypt against his authority. By the account which he gives of the revolt we find that previously to it, Egypt was divided into at least seven kingdoms, each ruled by a native Egyptian king, who however was not independent, but owed allegiance to a ruler of Thebes. Teufekht ruled in the Western Delta, and held Sais and Memphis; Osorkon was king of the Eastern Delta, and kept his court in Bubastis; Petesit was king of Athribis, also in the Delta, and Anput ruled in some portion of the same region, in middle

• Length was 13 inch and 6
10.8'

18. μ^2 and $\mu^2 + 1$ are squares of integers

¹ See Mariette, *Monuments Divers*,
pl. 1, *Revue de la Part* v. 1 n.
p. 4, *Revue de la Part* v. 1 n.
p. 4, *Revue de la Part* v. 1 n.

Egypt, by the 750. He may then have reigned quietly and peacefully for fifteen or sixteen years, and so have reached the twenty-first year of his sovereignty when the revolt broke out. At that date, Tifnekh, the ruler of Sais in a Memphis, suddenly resolved to throw off his allegiance, trusting—aid up partly to his power, partly to his remoteness from Napata—bringing up the Nile, with multitudes of warriors from the whole (western) land following him, he occupied the country on both sides of the river, reaching the Faros,¹ as far as Heracleopolis Magna (at 20° 11'), without—so far as appears—encountering any opposition. Every city, both of the west and of the east, opened its gates to him.² Heracleopolis seems to have ventured to stand a siege,³ but was taken. Tifnekh then advanced on Hermopolis, and so alarmed the king, Namiut, that, after razing one of his forts in order to prevent it from falling into the enemy's hands, he gave up the idea of resistance, and joined the rebellion. About the same time, several other of the subject monarchs, as Charkon of Hibastis, Bek-en-niti, and Ahot,⁴ gave in their adhesion to Tifnekh, and brought their forces to swell the numbers of his army.

Meanwhile, Piankhi, having received intelligence of the revolt, sent a strong body of troops down the Nile under the command of two generals, who would, he hoped, be able to defeat and disperse the rebels.

¹ *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, p. 104.
² " "

³ Husebekk (*et cetera*) p. 104, is inclined to think that the city of Hermopolis was taken without a siege, and that the city of Heracleopolis was taken after a siege. See also *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, p. 104, and *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, p. 104, and *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, p. 104.

⁴ *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, p. 104.

⁵ *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, p. 104.

⁶ *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, p. 104.

without his own army at all.¹ This expedition was at first successful. On its way down the river, below Thebes, it fell in with the Egyptian fleet of the enemy and completely defeated it. The rebel chiefs, abandoning Hermopolis and the middle Nile, fell back upon Suten-sen, or Hieracopolis, where they concentrated their forces and awaited a second attack. This was not long deferred. Prankes's army, having besieged and taken Hermopolis,² descended the river, Suten-sen, gave the confederates a second naval defeat, then disembarking followed up their success with another great victory on land, completely routing the enemy, and driving them to take refuge in Lower Egypt or in the towns along the banks of the Nile below Hieracopolis. But now a strange reversal of fortune befell them. Narmat, the Hermopolitan tyrant, learning that his capital was in the enemy's power, resolved on a bold attempt to retake it, and, having collected a number of ships and troops, carried his confederates, sailed up the Nile, besieged the Letopolis garrison which had been left to hold the city, overpowered them, and recovered the place.³ Hereupon Prankes made up his mind that a sown person, *prosecutor* was necessary in order to crush the rebels. Quitting Nupata in the first month of the year, he returned to Thebes in the second,⁴ and after performing sundry religious ceremonies in honour of the great god, Ammon, advanced against Hermopolis, pitched his camp to the south-west of the city, and prepared to take it by storm. Towers were raised to

¹ *Revue de l'Égypte*, vol. ii. p. 234, § 22, 1. 1. 2.

² *Revue de l'Égypte*, vol. ii. p. 234, § 22, 1. 1. 2.

³ *Revue de l'Égypte*, vol. ii. p. 234, § 22, 1. 1. 2.

⁴ *Revue de l'Égypte*, vol. ii. p. 234, § 22, 1. 1. 2. Compare

a greater height than the walls, from which the archers shot into the city, and the catapult men hurled stones into it, with such effect, that in a short time the inhabitants could not bear the stretch of the corpses, and insisted on a surrender. Sambut consented. Having first satisfied the great king's heart by sending his wife as a suppliant to Pankha's harem, to prostitute herself before his wives, daughters, and sisters, and to seek their intercession in his favour, he himself came forth from the city, and presented himself before Pankha in equal and noble costume, leading his horse with his left hand, and holding a sceptre in his right.



Plaque from the temple of Karnak, showing the goddess Isis and the god Osiris.

the instrument whereof it was used for worshippers to approach a god. Pankha had this scene engraved on a later date on the monument which he set up to record his victories, and at the time he seems not to have been much impressed by it, and to have declined to receive Sambut as a friend.

Isambast, king of Hieracopolis Magna, who shortly after Sambut's surrender, was treated with equal kindness. Pankha seems to have let himself strong enough to sup-

Some doubt whether this is the same as the one in the temple of Karnak, but the accompanying woodcut is taken from the same source.

press the revolt without the help of any of the subject princes, and reserve the question of punishing or condoning their offences until the struggle should be over.

Instead of putting down all opposition, Panchi now proceeded from Heliopolis along the course of the Nile towards Memphis, receiving the submission of the cities on either bank of the river upon his way, and in a short time appeared before the southern capital and summoned it to surrender at discretion. But Eshkhar, recently paid the city a visit, strengthened its defences, augmented its supplies, and added to its garrison with an accession of 8,000 men, thereby greatly inspiring its defenders. Resistance was thereupon resolved upon; the gates were closed, the walls manned, and Panchi challenged to do his worst. Then, as his Majesty furrows against them like a pathos.² Collecting vessels of every sort in size, and taking the command in person, he attacked the city from the water, brought his ships close to the levees, and, using the masts and yards of the vessels for ladders, succeeded in forming a continuous ladder round the place after a great slaughter. Aspet, Hehes, and Merkanedak, a leader of mercenaries, upon this surrendered, and armed resistance to the authority of Panchi ceased. Two chiefs, however, had still to make their submission, Tafuckht, the leader of the rebellion, and Oshaken, the prince of Bubastis. Proceeding against the latter, Panchi had reached Heliopolis, where he was received with acclamations and

Records of the Pharaohs, vol. i, p. 100, are not included in this work, category 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

himself as 'indestructible Horus,'¹ when Osorkon, seeing that resistance was hopeless, came into his camp and did homage. Nothing remained but that Tefnakht should bow to fortune. That prince, after the capture of Memphis, had fled beyond the seas—to Cyprus, as our writer conjectures²—and was thus at no personal danger; but the conversion of a refugee is irksome, and Piankhi had shown himself so clement to the other chiefs, that even the arch rebel felt he might perhaps be forgiven. Tefnakht, therefore, found his usual refuge sent an embassy to Piankhi, with a sufficiently large tribute,³ desiring pardon and offering a new oath of allegiance. The Ethiopian monarch accepted the overture, the oath was taken, the purification of Egypt effected; and, amid music and song,⁴ the conqueror descended the Nile, and returned, laden with the good things of Egypt, Syria, and Arabia, to his own capital city, Napata.

It would seem that Egypt now returned to its previous condition, all the rebel chiefs being allowed to resume their several governments and to exercise the same powers as before. Piankhi showed himself on a mild and merciful disposition, deposing no one, least yet so one, if any portion of his territories, and not even

¹ *Records of the Past*, vol. ii. p. 39, § 163.

² Rich, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 32. It is so thought, but he has no authority in favour of the Nile again. *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 243, § 123, 1st ed.

³ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. pp. 31, 2, 1st ed.

⁴ The poet, in the name of Piankhi, commemorates an O'keg. "When his Majesty sailed up the river, his heart was glad, and his harp resounded with music. The inhabitants of the west met him with the melody of his Majesty's

approach. To the notes of the harp they sang, "O'keg, thou conqueror! O'keg, thou conqueror!" Then they came and a great Lower Egypt they adorned, the land was won. The song they then repeated, "When his Majesty sailed up the river, his heart was glad, and his harp resounded with music. The inhabitants of the west met him with the melody of his Majesty's approach. To the notes of the harp they sang, "O'keg, thou conqueror! O'keg, thou conqueror!" Then they came and a great Lower Egypt they adorned, the land was won. The song they then repeated, "When his Majesty sailed up the river, his heart was glad, and his harp resounded with music. The inhabitants of the west met him with the melody of his Majesty's

two hostages, but stated that their experience of the facility's layout would prevent the captives from making any further efforts.


It is uncertain what error he has possibly witnessed the disappointment of his expectations. Egypt revolted and threw off the Macedonian yoke within a few years of its composition, but perhaps not until Ptolemy I. had been gathered to his fathers. The letter to the reader on this occasion was a eulogium on Antioch, $\text{Α} \text{---} \text{Π} \text{---} \text{Α}$, when the Greeks called him Antiochus or Banchos, a relative of Sars, and $\text{Α} \text{---} \text{Π} \text{---} \text{Α}$ is a son of Antiochus. The circumstances of his revolt are widely known to us, since the monuments are silent, they are changing so much, and neither M. nor the native Greek writers were aware of the subjection of Egypt by Ptolemy. Banchos is regarded by the Greeks as a somewhat remarkable personage, to be in truth and avatars, but with a certain reverence for wisdom, and the author of laws which still the approval of his countrymen. According to Antiochus, Mantiogave him a reign of six years only, and his reign is his son and his cup-bearer of the Apollonia, were it except it as probably marking the real duration of his reign. The Ptolemies, evidently stronger at this period than the Egyptians, are not likely to have allowed him a large respect, and when Sarcos, who led

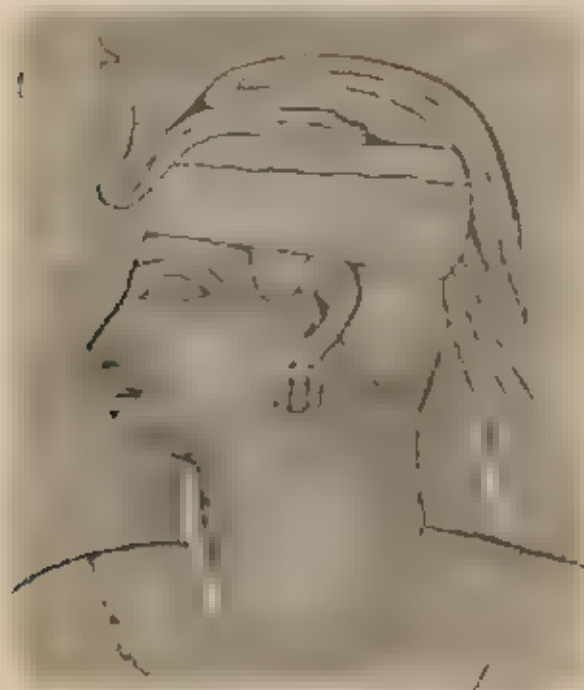
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advanced her limits, the Euphrates had been crossed; Upper Syria, Phoenicia, Hamath, the kingdom of Damascus, brought under subjection, and at length an attack was made upon that country which Egypt might well consider almost her last bulwark upon the north-east, which she looked upon as properly her own, and over which, so late as the time of Shalmaneser, she had actually exercised sovereignty. Shaluk, as an Egyptian, might not feel keenly the change in the relative position of the two countries, but he had enough of political sagacity to perceive the peril of the situation, and enough of boldness to resolve on meeting it halfway, and not retreating wholly on the defence. He encouraged Hoshia to test the power of the Assyrians, and, though, from circumstances which are unknown to us, he did not succeed to his aid, yet, a year or two later (c. 720), he met the advancing tide of Assyria conquest on the southern banks of the Euphrate, and fought a great battle in defence of the country whereof he had become king.¹ The battle of Rachel is one of the turning points in the world's history. Then for the first time was the relative strength of Asia and Africa tested in open combat on a large scale. It was one of the battles that Africa succumbed. Shaluk was completely defeated by the great Sargon, the builder of Khorsabad, and founder of the last and greatest Assyrian dynasty. His army was routed, and he was forced to seek safety in flight. It was probably soon afterwards that he concluded that treaty with the Assyrians, the seal of which, containing his cartouche, was found by Layard on the site of Nineveh.²

If Shaluk reigned twelve years only, he must have

¹ *Ancient Mesopotamia*, vol. ii. pp. 142-5, 2nd ed. ² Layard, *Mesopotamia and Babylon*, p. 154.

been succeeded by Shalmaneser, , about B.C. 712. Sargon was at this time still king of Assyria, and at the zenith of his power. In B.C. 715 he had conquered part of Ararat, and received tribute from Egypt: in B.C. 711, he took Ashdod, as noticed by Isidor.² In the same year he seems to have received






Head of Shalmaneser.

the assistance of Pharaoh, the king of Egypt, to say, although in the desert and far away, and a messenger to advise the king's Egyptian possessions, was not by the force of my necessity to suspect any steps towards Assyria and hence your wrath before me."


¹ *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, vol. viii, p. 11. ² *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, vol. viii, p. 11. ³ *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, vol. viii, p. 11.

Shabatak is probably the most likely intended; and it would seem that, through fear of the Assyrian power, he must have undertaken a journey into some part of Sargon's dominions¹ for the purpose of bowing down before his footstool and doing him homage.

Shabatak probably reigned about fourteen years²—from B.C. 712 to B.C. 698. He has left very few monuments of himself. In a sculpture, given by Rosellini,³ he makes an offering to Ammon Ra and Mut, a name, given by Munro;⁴ he receives life from Neith, and a sitting statue of him, now broken, was been found on the site of Memphis. On this last he calls himself M. Ptahab, 'lover of Ptah'—but his more ordinary epithet was Mer Ammon, 'beloved by Ammon.' In personal appearance he would seem to have much resembled Sennak, who was probably his father, but his eye was larger, his nose shorter, and he represents himself as without a beard. It is remarkable that both he and his predecessor would back for their throne claims to the early period of Egyptian history, Shabatak calling himself Neferkara, •, a form of name not before known since the tenth dynasty,⁵ and Shabatak Tekaia, ••, one not known since the fifth.⁷

1. It is not necessary to suppose that he actually went to Nineveh, as some have supposed. It is enough to suppose that he sent an embassy to the Assyrian king, or that he sent a messenger to inform him of his submission. The purpose of the journey was to do homage to the Assyrian king, and to receive from him the title of 'king of Egypt.' The journey was probably made in the year 712 B.C., when Sargon was king of Assyria. The journey was probably made in the year 712 B.C., when Sargon was king of Assyria.

2. The length of his reign is not known. It is probable that he reigned about fourteen years. This is based on the fact that he is known to have reigned in the year 712 B.C., and that he is known to have died in the year 698 B.C. The length of his reign is not known. It is probable that he reigned about fourteen years. This is based on the fact that he is known to have reigned in the year 712 B.C., and that he is known to have died in the year 698 B.C.

The immediate successor of Shabatak appears to have been Tuthakuh, when Manetho names the third Ethiopian king. The form of his name in Egyptian is Tuthak or Tuthak , which Manetho rendered by Tuthakos,¹ and the later Greeks by Tuthakos.² His monuments are found at Memphis, at Mepphet-Ahmed, at Eschek, and at Napata. It is not improbable that from Napata he exercised the supreme authority over Egypt even during his reign. Shabatak and it appears to have been with him that Hezekiah negotiated,³ when the continued exercise of Jewish worship was menaced by Sennacherib. Sennacherib, however, 701 B.C., took Assur and Lurru, defeated an Egyptian army which invaded the land of the Nile,⁴ invaded Judah, and made Hezekiah tributary, after which he could return to Nineveh. The Assyrians, taking advantage of his absence, to send an embassy to Egypt, and received such encouragement that, in the next year, Sennacherib deemed it necessary to march a second time⁵ into Palestine 40 B.C. for the purpose of subduing both Judah and Egypt. Regarding the Egyptians as his main enemy, and hearing that Tuthakos was on his way to oppose him, he marched past Jerusalem, by way of Libnah and Lachish, towards Pelusium, and found there an Egyptian army encamped under a leader whom Herodotus calls Setnos, possibly Shabatak, but more probably⁶ another Egyptian sub-king, whom

¹ Ap. Grenfell *Chronographæ* 124.

² Strab. i. 2 § 1.

³ See 2 Kings xx. 21. At any rate it was Tuthakuh who invaded the territory of Hezekiah, and who cannot have been the predominant of Egypt at the time.

⁴ See also the note to the *Annals of Sennacherib*, p. 150-51, 2nd ed.

⁵ 2 Kings xviii. 13-16.

⁶ Ibid. xxxviii. 17 et seqq.

⁷ See Herodotus ii. 151. Pelusium was the usual point at which Egypt was entered from the north-east.

⁸ Tuthakos, Shabatak and Setnos, are to be distinguished by the properly regarded as identical. Moreover, Setnos, as a name, was never designated of the Memphis Pharaoh, a title never given to Shabatak. It must

Shabutok or Tirhakah had established at Memphis. The two hosts were encamped, opposite each other, when in the night occurred that terrible calamity, explained by different writers in different ways,¹ whereby the Assyrians were utterly discomfited, their invasion brought to an end, and Egypt for the present relieved from any danger of further attack. Sennacherib having soon afterwards died, Tirhakah established himself as sole ruler of Egypt (B.C. 698), and probably transferred his abode from Napata to Memphis, where so many of his memorials have been discovered.

It is chiefly in a religious character that Tirhakah appears in his sculptures and inscriptions. In a temple which he built to Osiris Ptah at Memphis, he represents himself in one tablet² as cherished by Isis, whom he calls 'the great goddess,' 'the mother of all the gods,' while in another³ he receives life from Mentu, and in a third pours a libation to Osiris Ptah.⁴ An Apis is recorded as having died in his twenty-fourth, and another as having been born in his twenty-sixth year.⁵ He is, however, exhibited at Medinet Abo in the dress of a warrior,⁶ smiting numerous captive enemies with his mace, and celebrated in Greek tradition as a great conquering king who carried his victorious arms along the whole of North Africa as far as the Pillars of Hercules;⁷ but it is quite uncertain whether these traditions have any basis of truth. We

be remembered that Egypt at this time was full of such kings. (Compare Is. l. x. 1, 11-13.)

¹ As caused by the sinking of a pestilence, or by the direct visitation of God.

² Mariette, *Monuments Diverses*, pl. 70.

³ *Ibid.*, pl. 83.

⁴ *Ibid.* pl. 87.

⁵ Mariette, *Scrapium de Memphis*, pp. 20 and 28.

⁶ Leclercq, *Monuments Diverses*, pl. 61.

⁷ Megasthenes, Fr. 20.

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¹ Ap. Syncell. *Chronograph. Lac.*

² *Isaiah* l. c. § 24.

³ See *Isaiah* cxxv. 21. At any rate it was Tirhakah who moved to the relief of Ekron, and who sent an embassy to the king of Egypt at the time.

⁴ See the author's *Ancient Monarchs* vol. ii. p. 154-161, 2nd ed.

⁵ 2 Kings xxi. 13-16.

⁶ *Ibid.* verses 17 et seq.

⁷ See Herodotus, ii. 141. Palestine was the main point at which Egypt was concerned from the present time.

⁸ The names Sennacherib and Sethos are too remote to be properly regarded as identical. Moreover, Herodotus is said to have been misapprehended by the Memphite Phthah, a name never given to Shabatak. It must

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be remembered that Egypt at this time was full of warring kings. (Compare *loc. cit.* I, II, 18.)

¹ As caused by the sunken by a pestilence, or by the direct visitation of God.

² Varnotte, *Monuments Diverses*, pl. 79.

³ Ibid. pl. 46.

⁴ Ibid. pl. 67.

⁵ Mariette, *Sculptures de Memphis*, pp. 26 and 28.

⁶ Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, pl. cl.

⁷ Megasthenes, Fr. 20.

have no native accounts of the circumstances of his reign, which *seems* to have been eventless, or nearly so, from the destruction of Sennacherib's army to the great invasion of Egypt by Esaraddon.

Esaraddon, the son of Sennacherib, succeeded him upon the Assyrian throne in B.C. 681. He was one of the most warlike of all the Assyrian monarchs,¹ and having, during the first nine years of his reign, established the authority of Nineveh over Armenia, Babylon, Cilicia, Phoenicia, and Arabia, he in B.C. 672 determined on wiping out the memory of his father's Persian disaster by effecting, if possible, the conquest of Egypt. Marching from Aphak in Lachish along the coast of Palestine to Rafah, and obtaining, like Cambyses at a later date,² supplies of water from an Arabian stream,³ he passed the desert in safety, and, invading Egypt, gained a great battle over the forces of Tirhakah in the lower country, took Memphis and Thebes, and drove Tirhakah to take refuge in Ethiopia. Having thus made himself master of the country, he broke it up into twenty governments, appointing in some Assyrian, but most of them native Egyptians in the twenty most important cities or districts.⁴ These were Thebes itself, Memphis and Sais, which were united, Tanis, Schenytos, Athribis, Nohia, Psephth, Herakleopolis, Mendes, Busiris, Momemphis, Thes, Herakopolis, Lycopolis, &c. Among the rulers were a Sheshonk, probably descended from the kings

¹ Sennacherib's *Great Monarchy*, vol. II. pp. 161, 162.

² Herod. iii. 78.

³ Birch, *Ancient Egypt* i. 100.

⁴ *Ancient Egypt* vol. ii. p. 100. This list was first brought forward, and the names of the princes and their cities were first

discovered by Sir H. Rawlinson, whose paper on the subject is in *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*. Now Sir H. Rawlinson's paper has been reprinted, there was not published in England or abroad.

of the twenty-second dynasty, a Tafnekl, a Petubastes, and a Neco. The last named chief, who was ruler of Sais and Memphis, is no doubt the father of the first Psamatik;¹ and we may presume that, not very long after his accession, he associated that prince upon the throne, since Psamatik counts the years of his reign from B.C. 667.² Egypt remained for three years in this condition—subject to Assyria, and split up into twenty governments or states. Tirhakah's reign appeared to have come wholly to an end, and the Ethiopian dominion to have terminated.

But the Ethiopians were merely biding their time. Tirhakah had withdrawn to Napata or to Meroë, where he kept watch upon events. No sooner did Esarhaddon, in B.C. 669, show signs of physical decay, than Tirhakah issued from his Ethiopian fastnesses, descended the valley of the Nile, expelled the kings set up by Esarhaddon, and re-established his authority over the whole country.³ The kings fled to Nineveh, where they found Ashur-uballit, the son of Esarhaddon, established in power. Learning from them what had happened, he at once put his forces in motion, and in B.C. 668 led them through Syria and Palestine into Egypt, defeated the Egyptians and Ethiopians in a great battle near Kosant, stormed Memphis and Thebes, and forced Tirhakah once more to take refuge in his own proper country.⁴ After this he retired, having first reinstated the princes in their former

¹ Herod. ii. 152.

² The only four errors of the reign of Psamatik I. committed according to the most common opinion, are in 667, or B.C. 666. See Herodotus, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 277, and compare Wiedemann, *de schachtæ ægyptiaca cum Lamiaribus*

I. p. 121 who makes the date B.C. 664, and Strabo, *Geogr.* iii. p. 514. *De Assyria et Indis*, vol. ii. p. 214 who makes it B.C. 662.

³ Herodotus, *Monarchies*, vol. ii. p. 106.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 201.

governments and strengthened the Assyrian garrisons in the various towns.

But the contest was not yet over. The tributary monarchs themselves had grown weary of the Assyrian yoke, and were inclined to prefer the Ethiopians, if subjection to one power or the other was a necessity. They intrigued with Tirhakah, and though some of them were arrested and sent to Nineveh,¹ yet the rebellious spirit smouldered on, and, Lower Egypt



Head of Tirhakah.

being in a state of disturbance, Tirhakah again invaded the upper country, took Thebes, and prepared to march upon Memphis. Neco was sent from Nineveh to oppose him, and Tirhakah in alarm evacuated Thebes, and returning to Napata, there died (B.C. 667). His stepson, Rutshamon, the Urdhmané of the Assyrian inscriptions,² succeeded him, and immediately applied himself to the task of maintaining the Ethiopian power. Descending the Nile, he reoccupied Thebes and Memphis, cleared Egypt of the Assyrians, and made himself

¹ *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. II. p. 202.

² G. Smith. *History of Assyria*, pp. 47, 52, &c.

master of the whole country. Ashurbanipal, upon this, undertook the conduct of the war in person, marched an army into Egypt, drove Rat-anmon from Memphis to Thebes, and from Thebes to Kip-ki, an unknown town of Nubia—thus, for the fourth time, establishing the Assyrian authority over the country. It would seem that Rat-anmon, shortly after this, died in Nubia, and was succeeded by Miammon-Nut,¹ who was perhaps a son of Terakab.²

Miammon-Nut tells us³ that in the year of his accession to the throne (about B.C. 660) he had a remarkable dream in the night. Two serpents⁴ appeared to him, the one on his right hand, the other on his left. He woke to find that they had vanished, and at once consulted the interpreter as to the meaning of the vision. It was explained to signify that all Egypt would one day be his—the Lower country as well as the Upper; the land was given to him in its length and in its breadth, Anmon would be with him and prosper him.⁵ Miammon-Nut accepted the interpretation, and marched upon Egypt at the head of a hundred thousand men.⁶ In Upper Egypt it would

¹ Birch, *Ancient Egypt* (sup. 170).
171) Compare also the *Monuments of Egypt* (vol. i. p. 444). Dr. Brugsch makes Miammon-Nut succeed Terakab, *History of Egypt* (vol. i. p. 48, let. 1).

² The close connection of Miammon-Nut with Terakab is certainly evident in the monuments and inscriptions of the Pathos-Sphinx (see p. 100) at Memphis, which Terakab probably began, but which must have been completed by Miammon-Nut. In no sculpture has he been represented as if they were both reigning together, Terakab in Lower and Miammon-Nut in Upper Egypt (Mariette, *Monuments In-*

scrips, p. 83).

³ See *Records of the Past* vol. iv. p. 81. Compare Herodotus, *History of Egypt* (vol. i. p. 250) 1. 1. ed.

⁴ The serpent which he signifies, as, *Ḥ*, was the hieroglyphic for 'country' or 'kingdom' whence the interpretation.

⁵ *Records of the Past* vol. iv. p. 83, §§ 5, 6.

⁶ See Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 250, § 7 1. 1. ed. Mariette estimates 1, 00, 000 men (*Records of the Past* vol. iv. p. 82, 1. 1. 1.), but this number is scarcely a possible one.

seem that he was hailed as a deliverer. Under the Assyrians, who were probably still dominant, though nothing is said of them, the temples had gone to decay, the statues of the gods were overturned, the temple revenues were confiscated, and the priests restrained from the exercise of their offices. Minamon-Nut proclaimed himself the champion of religion. He visited the temples, led the images in procession, offered rich sacrifices, and paid every respect to the priestly colleges. Accordingly 'even those whose intention had been to fight were moved with joy.'¹ Archimedes' lions were everywhere raised. 'Go onward in the peace of thy name,' they said, 'go onward in the peace of thy name.' Dispense life throughout all the land—that he temples may be restored, which are hastening to ruin; that the statues of the gods may be set up after their manner; that their revenues may be given to the gods and goddesses, and the offerings for the dead to the deceased; that the priest may be established in his place, and all things be fulfilled according to the holy Ritual.'² It was not till he reached Memphis that any opposition was made. There a battle was fought without the walls, and a decisive victory gained;³ after which Memphis was occupied, and the enlargement and beautification of the temple of Ptah commenced. The chapel, or Ptah's Sekari Osiris, recently discovered by M. Mariette, which is full of Minamon-Nut's sculptures and inscriptions,⁴ was no doubt taken in hand and highly decorated, its stones being inlaid with gold, its pan-

¹ *Huguenot History of Egypt*, vol. 83, § 17.

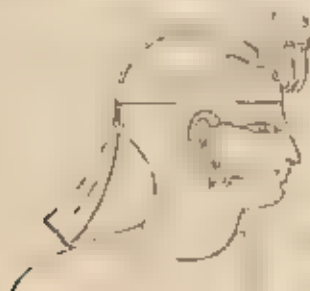
² *ibid.* § 10, note 1.

³ *ibid.* p. 261, §§ 14-17.

⁴ *Records of the Past*, vol. iv. p.

⁴ See Mariette, *Monuments Diverses*, pls. 70-84.

elling made of acacia-wood scented with frankincense, its doors of polished copper, and their frames of iron.¹ And, the princes of the Delta, Assyrian feudatories, hesitated to come in, and Mi-ammon-Nut after a while proceeded against them with his troops. The princes shut themselves up in their towns, and unwilling to waste his time in sieges, the Ethioptian returned to Memphis, and probably commenced separate negotiations with the various chiefs. The result was that ere long they wrote up their arrears to submit, and by the mouth of Psamtik, king of Persia,



Head of Mi-ammon-Nut.

placed themselves, their lives, and their possessions, at his disposal. The act of humiliation was accepted, their lives were spared, and after receiving hospitable entertainment they were sent back to their several towns, to govern them as Ethioptian, and no longer as Assyrian vassals. Finally, Mi-ammon-Nut, having on his right firmly established his power, sailed up the Nile amid general rejoicing, and returned to Napata.²

But this expedition, which had seemed to rivet the Ethioptian yoke on the necks of the Egyptians, had in

¹ Bunsen, *History of Egypt*, vol. 2, p. 284. ² *Ibid.* p. 284. *Records of the*
Past, vol. iv. p. 66.

fact to their shaking it off. On the one hand, the attack showed the princes the evils of divided empire, and suggested the idea of their placing themselves under a chief. On the other, the non-interference of the Assyrians in the quarrel rendered it plain that their power was on the decline, and that the Egyptians had not much to fear from them. After having been a shuttlecock between Ethiopia and Assyria for some ten or twelve years, Egypt resolved on an endeavour to detach herself wholly from both. How Misammon Nute's authority was shaken off we do not know. Perhaps he died, and left no successor of sufficient energy to attempt the difficult task of holding in subjection a great nation, possessed of a higher civilisation than that of his own. Perhaps he made a struggle to retain his authority, but was worsted. All that is known is, that, from about the year B.C. 650, the Ethiopian domination over Egypt ceased. It had lasted, with interruptions, a little more or a little less than a century.¹ Egypt had derived no advantage whatever from the connection, had improved neither in arts nor arms, and could show not a single monument of any splendour or artistic excellence for which she was indebted to her conquerors.² The influence of the great Nubian power was altogether depressing and debasing, and if under the new dynasty, which succeeded, the Egyptians showed any advance in civilisation or in any of the arts, it was owing, not to the closer contact with their southern neighbours, but to an effluence which reached them from the north.

¹ From about B.C. 730, when Psammetichus would have himself acknowledged as king. See above, p. 437.

² The *sculptures* added to the temple of Medinet-Abou by Tahapan (c.

the highest effort of the Ethiopians. It is not without merit, but cannot be said to possess real artistic excellence.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE TWENTY-SIXTH DYNASTY. (B.C. 550-527.)

Depressed State of Egypt at the Close of the Ethiopian Rule. Commencement of the reign of Psammetichus I. and Capture of Ischia. Battle of Memphis and Establishment of the Power of Psammetichus over the whole of Egypt. Personal Appointments and supposed Libyan Origin of Psammetichus. Settlement of the Greeks at Bubastis. Herd and Succession of the Warriors. Other Details of the Greek Influence. Psammetichus takes Ischia. He buys off the Scythæ. His handings. A season of Peace. His two Fleets. His Ship canal. His Circumnavigation of Africa. His Expedition to Carthage. Counter-expedition of Nebuchadnezzar. Reign of Psammetichus II. His War with Pharaoh Hophra of Assyria. His First War with Nebuchadnezzar. His Phoenician War. His Second Babylonian War and Demolition. His Ethiopian and Inverysian Wars. Reign of Amasis. Condition of Egypt under him. He conquers Cyprus and makes alliance with Lacedæmon. His great Works. His Wars. Short Reign of Psammetichus III. Egypt conquered by Cambyses. Civilization and Art under the Twenty-sixth Dynasty. Succession in Religion. Changes in Manners. Conclusion.

THE long struggle of the Egyptians and Assyrians for the mastery over Egypt, the rapid advances and retreats executed by the armies of both powers in the course of the various campaigns—advances and retreats which generally commenced at one extremity of the Nile Valley and terminated at the other—must have inflicted an amount of injury on the country and people which can scarcely be estimated, must have half ruined the towns, and have carried desolation over the broad and fertile plains on either side of the river. The great city of Thebes—so long the admiration of the

Greeks,¹ and probably for many ages quite the most magnificent city in the world—passed into a byword for depression and decay in consequence of the long-continued troubles. ‘Art thou better than populous No,’ Nanech was asked,² ‘that was a site among the rivers, that had the waters round about it, whose rampart was the flood? Yet she was carried away—she went into captivity.’ And the fate which befell Thebes was shared by Memphis, Hieracopolis, Hermopolis, Hasetek,³ and by the great majority of the other towns. Nor could the ruin be readily repaired. The petty princes, vassals either of Assyria or Ethiopia, were neither sufficiently assured of their position, nor sufficiently rich, to undertake works of the cost and magnitude needed in order to restore the ruined edifices and obliterate the marks of invasion. Thus Egypt, towards the middle of the seventh century B.C., was reduced to a condition of extreme wretchedness and depression, from which it could scarcely have been anticipated that a revival would ever take place—far less so rapid and complete a revival as that which was actually effected under the same monarchs of the great twenty-sixth dynasty.

The signal for the movement which resulted in this revival was given in the far off country of Babylonia. There, about B.C. 630,⁴ a brother of the great Assyrian monarch, Asshurbanipal, raised the standard of revolt against his suzerain, and, in conjunction with the neighbouring country of Elam or Susiana, commenced a struggle for independence. At the same time, in

¹ See *Hom.* *Il.* ix. 681–4; *Hered.* § 9. 14. *Herod.* iv. 278. *Diod.* Sic. i. 31–45, *Strabo* xvii. 1, § 46.

² *Assuan* ii. 8 d.

³ See above pp. 479–481.

⁴ Cf. *Sims: a History of Assyria*, *Assyria* i. p. 341. The exact date given is B.C. 652 B.

order to distract the efforts of his adversary, he sent emissaries to various distant countries, and among them to Egypt,¹ with the object of exciting the subject nations to throw off the Assyrian yoke, pointing out to them that they had now an excellent opportunity of regaining their freedom. It seems to have been this invitation, rather than any quarrel with his brother princes,² that caused Psammictas, at this time king of Sais, to form the project of reducing Egypt into a single monarchy, and at the same time of releasing his country from any, even nominal, dependence on Assyria. Before, however, manifesting his intention by any overt act, he took the precaution of strengthening himself by a distant and powerful alliance. Having learnt that Cyges, king of Lybia, a rich and warlike monarch, was inclined towards the Assyrian power,³ which had recently been extended over his country, he sent an embassy to Sais, with a request for a contingent of troops. Cyges assented,⁴ and a body of soldiers, drawn chiefly from the Carians and the Ionian Greeks⁵—who were at this time in his service⁶—was despatched from Asia to Africa, to help Psammictas against the Assyrians and the Assyrian vassal-kings. By the aid of these foreign auxiliaries, the Saitic monarch was completely successful. In a battle near Memphis⁷—the modern Mitouf—he signally

¹ Cf. Strabo's *History of Judæa* (Amstel. p. 55). Egypt was doubtless accessible through the west end of the Nile, as Herodotus (iii. 10) and Diodorus (i. 65) have shown.

² As related by Herodotus (iii. 10) and Diodorus (i. 65).

³ Cf. Strabo's *History of Judæa* (Amstel. p. 55) and Diodorus (i. 65).


⁴ Cf. Herodotus (iii. 102), who,

however, knows nothing of their any assistance by Cyges.

⁵ Cyges had taken the Ionians and Carians from the Lybians, and sent them to Sais. His Carian troops were probably sent to Sais in the year 600 B.C. (Herodotus, iii. 102).


From Strabo (i. 65).

defeated the combined forces of the vassal monarchs, and, as the result of his victory, placed on his head the double crown, and proclaimed himself 'lord of the two Egypts, the upper and the lower country.'

It is suspected¹ that Psammetichus—or Psamotik, , to give him his native name—was of Libyan



Head of Psammetichus I.

descent, connected with the family of which the arch-rebel against the Persians, Inarus, was also a member.² The names Psamatik and Neco, — , are unknown in the Egyptian nomenclature up to this date,


¹ Lepsius, *Verh. der XXVI. Ägypt. Kongress*, p. 251. ² Inarus was the son of a Psammetichus in *Königsdynastie*, p. 251, 252 (Horn, vii 7, 21 lin.)

and have no Egyptian etymology. Moreover, the Western Delta was, as we have already seen,¹ peculiarly open to Libyan invasion, and Sais, the chief city of this region, would naturally contain in its population a large Libyan infusion. It is not to be supposed, however, that the Psammetiche were recent immigrants—they had no doubt been long settled in the region, and had gradually risen to a high position among the nobles of Sais. But the physical type of the family was markedly non-Egyptian. Psammetiche I. had a more open eye than the ordinary Egyptian one, a nose the reverse of the Egyptian form, *wide* as a rule and depressed, lips of moderate thickness, and a large but retreating chin. His *skull* seems to have been of the shape called ‘domedcephaloid’, with a very small development behind the ears.² He bore his foreign origin in his very aspect, and therefore fastened a cover to his defect, and legitimate himself in the eyes of his subjects, by marrying an Egyptian princess, Neopen, nt,³ the daughter of a ‘king of rank’, who traced his descent to the antedynastic *denkmen*, or Barchoths,⁴ the earliest South-western in the dynastic lists.

Having thus strengthened his right to the throne, the prudent ruler proceeded to secure himself the still more important support of might, by permanently engaging the services of those mercenary troops to

¹ See *op.* pp. 320, 323, 324 &c.

² See the woodcut on the preceding page, which is taken from a statue of him in the British Museum.

³ Or Neopitropet, as Lepsius read in the original, which is . (See the small

treatise of this writer, *Ueber die Aegyptische Hieroglyphen*, p. 362 n. 1. I find it at the end of the work.

⁴ *Denk*, and Neopen Borch, *Antient Egypt*, p. 175.

9°. Here they were known as the *Asmach* or *Auto-moli*, under which latter name they are often mentioned by the geographers.¹

The introduction into Egypt of a large body of Asiatic Greeks, warlike and yet civilised and refined, and the close relationship in which they henceforth stood to the king, of whose throne they must have been the chief physical support, were events of considerable importance in their effect upon Egyptian art, manners, and habits of thought. The spirit of inquiry was suddenly awakened in the inert Egyptian mind, which had hitherto been content to work in a traditional groove, and had eschewed all needless speculations. Psammeticus himself and his curiosity aroused, and began experiments and investigations. A strong spring, which we led forth from the rock in the neighbourhood of Elephantine, and was called by some—absurdly enough—the true source of the Nile, was reputed to be unfathomable. Psammeticus brought a measuring line, with a heavy weight attached to it, and had the fountain sounded, but failed to reach the bottom.² A question having been raised, probably by some of the newcomers, as to the relative antiquity of different races of mankind, Psammeticus had two children isolated from their species, brought up by a dumb herdsmen,³ and suckled by a goat, in order to see what language they would speak, since he presumed that, if they never heard a word uttered, they would revert to the primitive type of speech. The result of his experi-

¹ *Pomp. Met.* iii. 10; *Plin.* *Æt.* 27; *Strabo*, *l.* 17, § 101. *Steph. Byz.* ad *con.* *Æthiopia*. *Strabo*, however, gives them the name of *Sambathæ* (*xviii.* 1, § 23). ² *Herod.* ii. 93. ³ *Id.* *ib.* not by *ant.* *co.*, but by *con.* *ant.* *d.*, being forbidden to hear them the name of *Sambathæ* (*xviii.* 1, § 23).

ment was thought to prove the Phrygians to be the most ancient nation; and the Egyptians, we are told,¹ thereforth acquiesced in that conclusion as an established one.

A second consequence of the Greek influx was the establishment of a class of 'interpreters,' who acted as intermediaries between the Greeks and the native Egyptians in business transactions, being equally conversant with the languages of both nations.² The Greeks, with that self-conceit which characterises them also ye all the other peoples of antiquity, declined to speak or understand any language but their own, and thus depended on the interpreters—persons in a humble position—for all their knowledge of the history, antiquities, and religious opinions of the Egyptians. Hence probably the frequent mistakes which tinge their accounts of these matters, and detract so largely from their value.

It would seem³ that another consequence was the opening of free communication and commercial intercourse between Egypt and Asiatic Greece, such as had certainly not existed previously. The Egyptians had hitherto been jealous of foreigners, and scarcely allowed them to land upon their coast.⁴ Now Greek traders and even Greek settlements were encouraged. The Milesians established a fortified port on the Boiotian mouth of the Nile, and shortly afterwards founded Naukratis on the western or Canopic branch.⁵ That

¹ Herod. ii. 2.

² *Ibid.* ii. 154.

³ There is some question as to whether Psammetich I., or Amasis, first threw Egypt open to the foreigner. I agree with Mr Grote that 'the establishment of the

Greek factories and merchants at Naukratis may be rather considered as marking in the reign of Psammetichus (*History of Greece* vol. ii. p. 416).

⁴ Herod. ii. 170.

⁵ Strab. xvi. p. 601.

city became an important *entrepôt* of Greek commerce, and the monopoly of the lucrative traffic thus established was not long confined to a single state. Chios, Phocæa, Rhodes, Halicarnassus, Mytilene, Icaria, Samos claimed a share in the Egyptian trade,¹ and Naukratis shortly received immigrants in considerable numbers from these and other Greek cities. The wines of Greece were highly appreciated by Egyptian Egyptians,² and Greek pottery and glyptic art attracted a certain amount of favour. Greek courtesans, moreover, established themselves at Naukratis, and accumulated immense fortunes.³ Thus the influence exercised upon Egypt by the Greek settlement was not altogether for good; but on the whole it is probable that the benefits which resulted from it outweighed the disadvantages.

The loss of military strength, consequent upon the desertion of the 'warriors' did not deter Psammeticus from attempting, like other founders of dynasties, to claim for himself the *prestige* which is derived from foreign conquests. The Assyrian power declined rapidly in the decade of years which followed the loss of Egypt,⁴ Western Asia became disorganised, and a tempting opportunity was thus offered for Egypt to claim once more dominion over Syria. Psammeticus, if there is any ground at all for the statement of Herodotus that he besieged Azotus (Ashdod) for twenty-nine years,⁵ must have commenced his aggressions in this quarter very soon after he became king of all Egypt.⁶

¹ Herod. ii. 174.

² Charaxus, the brother of Sappho, traded in wine between Lesbos and Naukratis. Strabo xv. p. 667. On the wine quantity imported, see Herod. iii. 6.

³ Herod. ii. 136.

⁴ See *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii. pp. 504-5.

⁵ Herod. ii. 157.

⁶ The latest date assigned to Psammeticus by modern writers is

Ashdod was the key of Syria upon the south, and was a city of great strength, as indeed the name implies.¹ Psammethius can scarcely have blockaded it continuously for the time mentioned,² but he may have attacked it frequently, or indeed annually,³ during that space, and his efforts may only have been crowned with success in the twenty-ninth year from the date of his first assault. The Jewish history of the time shows that he did not carry his arms inland, or make any attempt to interfere with Manasseh, Ammon, or Judah, but it would seem that from Ashdod he proceeded northwards along the Syrian coast, and reduced Phoenicia to a species of vassalage, establishing the Egyptian power over the coast line as far north as Aradus, where he built a temple to the Egyptian goddess, Sakhmet or Bast, and left a statue inscribed with his name.⁴

It was probably after Ashdod had fallen, and when Psammethius regarded his power as firmly fixed in Phœnicia and Ionia, that a sudden danger manifested itself which no wisdom could have foreseen and no

p. 410 (Wiedemann, *Geschichte Aegyptens*, p. 221) He says: *Hist. of Egypt* vol. ii. p. 277. But it is more probable that he had just sent him to Africa (see *Isis* and *Sakhmet* at Ashdod p. 410). If this is correct, three years only would have elapsed between the establishment of his rule as king of Egypt and his first attack on Ashdod. If the date of Hengob's be preferred, the interval would not have been so small.

¹ Ashdod, *Asdod*, is probably derived from a cognate root with the Arabic *ashdud*, strong. Compare Hebrew *atz*.

² The ten-years' siege of Troy and Troy have been regarded as impossible durations (Cicero *History of Greece*, vol. i. p. 248; Niebuhr,

History of Rome vol. i. p. 494; Livy i. 10. 1.) On the far longer and more continuous siege of Ashdod met with no ancient authority (see *History of Greece* vol. ii. p. 348; *Isis and Sakhmet* *Monat. of Herod. Anecdotes* vol. i. p. 470). Wiedemann was certainly a doubtful authority (*Geschichte Aegyptens* p. 16.) which is certainly well founded.

³ The Egyptian wars, like those of the Greeks, were generally occasional. For the most part it is a series of separate expeditions, and not a continuous campaign. In the course of a few months, and continued year after year till the enemy was exhausted, and submitted.

⁴ Wiedemann, *Geschichte Aegyptens*, &c.

statesmanship have averted. Breaking through the great barrier of the Caucasian range, a horde of fierce, ambitious Scythæ or Tatar spread themselves (about B.C. 630-620) over Armenia and Mesopotamia,¹ defeated the armies sent against them by the civilised nations of those parts,² became complete masters of the open country, and, having desolated and exhausted one region after another, finally descended upon Syria, and threatened to invade Egypt. Baffled by the high walls which for the most part defended the towns, it was their ordinary practice to pass them by, and to ravage only the towns and villages and the cultivated plains,³ but occasionally a weak town, reputed rich, tempted them to attack, and succumbed to it. Pressing towards Egypt along the coast route, they must have come upon Ashdod, but Ashdod was too strong for them to take with. They passed on and reached Ascalon, an ancient city,⁴ famous for its temple of Derceto, the Phœnician Ashtoreth. This proved fatal to their bands, and proved so seductive that in a short time the invading host was reduced by its excesses to such a condition as made it little better than an army of women.⁵ Psammethicus, under these circumstances,

¹ Compare *Ancient Mesopotamia* vol. i. p. 285.

² Herod. i. 104.

³ The Scythæ, as Greek travellers say, were a people without cities, although they were great numbers. See *Strabo's Geography* vol. vi. p. 163. In the same way the Persians, as a people, were without cities, although they were an oppressed and contemporary long-ruled empire.

⁴ I have kept to the ancient name of Ascalon. I will give those that are at rest, and take the safety of those dwelling without walls and

having neither bars nor gates, to show a specimen to take a part to them, then leave upon the leading position are now situated and upon the ponds that are gathered out of the intestine, which have gotten cold and made the land in the middle of the sand (verses 11, 12).

⁵ Joby i. 13, iv. 10. Aesch. *Eur.* i. 5. Herod. i. 100.

⁶ Compare *Isaiah* vi. 3, § 14, with *Isaiah* i. 10, and for the name of the meadow which came to the Scythians at Ascalon, see

found no difficulty in persuading the chiefs, on receipt of a moderate bribe, to give up their project of invading Egypt, and even evacuate the portion of southern Syria which they had occupied. Whether they retired is uncertain;¹ but there is reason to think that from the time of their stay at Ascalon their power declined—the Philistine city proved their Capua—and Western Asia in a short time was able to rid itself of its oppressors.

During the later years of his life, Psammetichus would seem to have devoted his attention to art and architecture. Herodotus tells us that he built the southern gateway, which gave entire completeness to the great temple of Ptah at Memphis,² and also 'made a court for Aps, in which Aps was kept whenever he made his appearance in Egypt.'³ This latter was surrounded by a colonnade, adorned with Osirid figures eighteen or twenty feet high. Psammetichus also made a new gallery for the reception of the Aps bulls after their death, in the lateral place of Sakhut,⁴ piercing the sand rock with arched entablatures, in each one of which at least one Aps was to be deposited. He likewise adorned Memphis with a new temple to Sakhut,⁵ where she was long honoured as the wife of Ptah and the Goddess of Life. In Thebes he restored those portions of the great temple which had been injured

If pp. cxi. *De Aera, Aquæ, et Læti*, v. 168.

¹ It is suspected that they made a settlement at this time in the Jordan valley, occupying Beth-shean, whence from thence they invaded the region of Sythopria (*Synedon Chronogr.* p. 214 o).

² Herod. ii. 153. Three courts had been made, and three gateways built on three sides of the temple

previously (ib. p. 1, 121, 5 1 and 122). The south end was unfinished (about 500 years before approach).

³ Herod. ii. 153. For a representation of the court see the frontispiece to vol. i. of Sir G. Wilkinson's *Ancient Egypt*.

⁴ Herod. *Ancient Egypt*, p. 175 c.

⁵ Wicquart, *Les Ruines de Memphis*, p. 137.

by the Assyrians,¹ and at Medinet-Abou he constructed works which attracted the attention of later ages.² Sais, Mendes, Philæ, and Heliopolis were likewise objects of his care, and their sites have yielded specimens of the arts which he fostered and encouraged.³ An invention of his reign,⁴ which cannot, however, be assigned to the initiative of the monarch, was the *hieroglyphic* or *demotic* writing, which superseded the hieratic, being simpler and easier to write rapidly, though somewhat more spread out over the paper.

Besides his wife, Shepsesut, the daughter of King Piankhi, Psammetchus is thought to have been married to a lady called Hent or Hent,⁵ who was the mother of his eldest, if not his only,⁶ son, Necho—the Necho of Scripture. By Shepsesut he had a daughter, whom he called Nektakemmut, or 'Nectaris beloved of Mont; and this princess was taken to wife by her half brother, Necho.⁷ Thus the legitimacy supposed to attach to the descendants of Bschors was transferred to this prince, who reigned partly in his own right, partly in that of his wife.

¹ Wiedemann, *loc.*

² Herodotus, *Memorabilia Storici*, vol. ii. p. 100.

³ Herodotus, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 175; Wiedemann, *loc.* Among the works of Psammetchus at Heliopolis was the elegant obelisk of red granite which now adorns the gardens of the Musée Cléopâtre at Rome (Valéry, *France en Egypte*, p. 504). This monument was transported to Rome by Augustus, and set up triumphantly in the Campus Martius, where it formed the pedestal of a gigantic sundial (Piazzi, *Il Sole*, p. 14).


⁴ Herodotus, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 177.

⁵ Lepsius, *Ueber die XXII ägyptische Königsdynastie*, p. 301,

and Tafel II at the end of the work.

⁶ Wiedemann speaks of another son, Horus, of whom there is a mention by Herodotus of the *Levante* (*Geographie*, p. 15).

⁷ Lepsius, see Dr. Wiedemann suspects that Psammetchus himself took as daughter Nectaris, as a secondary wife, in order to strengthen his title to the throne (*Levante*, p. 145-4), but has proposed for one that also is called a royal wife, as well as a royal daughter, on a tomb, *Denkmäler*, pl. iii. pl. 270 b) where the only large mention by name of Psammetchus does not seem to me sufficient to establish such an improbability.

Neco, — , who must have been tolerably advanced in years when he ascended the throne,¹ was nevertheless one of the most enterprising and energetic of Egyptian rulers. Inheriting his father's designs against Syria and Phœnicia, and convinced that the successful prosecution of such an enterprise as the conquest of those countries required the employment of a powerful fleet,² his first efforts³ were directed towards the construction of a navy capable of contending with any that the Phœnician merchants could bring against him. As Egypt was washed by two seas, and he had ports on both, dockyards were established on a ship building actively pursued simultaneously in the two quarters, the work being pushed with such vigour that in a short time he possessed two fleets of *triremes*,⁴ one in the Mediterranean and the other in the Red Sea. Egyptian fleets had hitherto consisted of vessels having one rank of rowers only,⁵ but biremes, or vessels with two ranks, had been built by the Phœnicians⁶ as early as B.C. 700, and biremes had been invented by the Greeks at about the same date.⁷ Neco's Greek and Carian mercenaries were

¹ Psamtichus cannot have been less than 50 years of age at his death, and he lived not many years. Therefore, if Neco at that time he was somewhat old by his father's age, he probably he was not much as seventy-four or seventy-five. His reign's end would not probably have been fifty by that time.

² The Phœnicians of the eighteenth dynasty had certainly been distinguished by their very successful maritime exploits. (See above, pp. 253, 240 &c.) Cambyses took care to be accompanied by some ships when he attacked Egypt. (Herod. ii. 1, 13.) It was too late of his fleet in the

battle of the Nile that General Napier — I to wonder the idea of heading Egyptian's tank.

³ Herod. ii. 15. The naval strength of the Egyptian empire at that time is shown by the fact that the Phœnicians, who were the most powerful naval power of the time, were defeated by the Egyptians at the battle of the Nile.

⁴ Herod. l. c.

⁵ See above, vol. i. p. 470.

⁶ Ancient Monarchia, vol. ii. p. 170, 171 &c.

⁷ Thucyd. i. 13.

probably well acquainted with them, and would recommend them to their master as exceeding all other vessels of war. The vessels in which they, or rather their predecessors, had reached Egypt forty years earlier, and which were laid up in dry docks near Memphis,¹ may have been of this class, and have served ~~the~~ shipwrights of Neco as patterns. At any rate two fleets of triremes were built on the two Egyptian seas, and their active services were put in request, Herodotus tells us, on more than one occasion.²

Closely connected with these naval projects and aspirations was, beyond all doubt,³ another enterprise in which the active-minded monarch engaged at the same period. The great kings of the nineteenth dynasty had, as we have seen,⁴ established a water communication between the two Egyptian seas by means of a canal carried across from the Nile near Bubastis to the Bitter Lakes, and thence to the head of the Gulf of Suez. But this work had been undertaken for commercial, not military, purposes, and had been constructed on a moderate scale, the width of the cutting being probably not much greater than that of the canals of our own country. Neco's design was of a far grander character. He wished to construct a ship-canal, along which his triremes might pass, and designed it on a scale which would have allowed of two vessels of this class being rowed along it abreast,⁵ and therefore of their meeting and crossing each other without sharpening their ears. Had the work been successfully completed, it would have been possible to unite the

¹ Herod. ii. 154.

² Ibid. 159.

³ See Wiedemann, *Geschichte Aegyptens*, p. 147. I have long

been of the same opinion.

⁴ Sayce, pp. 207 and 310.

⁵ Herod. ii. 158.

two fleets on any occasion when it seemed desirable, and to employ the entire naval force of the kingdom, either in the Mediterranean or the Red Sea, against Persia or Arabia. Unfortunately the enterprise failed. According to Herodotus,¹ it was stopped by an oracle which warned Neco—but he was doing the work of the foreigner. But, if any such prophetic announcement was really made—which is, to say the least, doubtful²—the priestly warning was probably itself based upon another quite separate fact—namely, the loss of life which occurred when the king attempted to put his plan into execution. In a climate like that of Egypt, and still more of the deserts which border it, hard labour under the scorching sun is itself dangerous, the concentration of many labourers on one spot increases the peril, insufficient provision of supplies and shelter multiplies it. So small a work as the Alexandrian canal cost Menept Ah the lives of 10,000 men;³ how many were sacrificed in the construction of the great cutting of M. de Lasseps will probably never be known. Neco is said to have lost, before he died, 120,000 of his labourers.⁴ The number may be an exaggeration, but it indicates a fact. Excavators having been unwisely concentrated, or too much labour required of them, or an insufficient provision having been made of the necessary supplies, a fearful mortality was the consequence. Thousands perished in the course of a few months, and either compassion for his subjects' woes, or fear of their resentment,

¹ Herod. ii. 152.

² It is not likely that the plan announced in the supposed oracle would have presented itself to the mind of any Egyptian until the attempt of Neco was carried to a

successful issue by Darius.

³ Wilkinson in *the Anc. and Mod. Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 207, note 2, and ed.

⁴ Herod. loc.

induced the monarch reluctantly to forego his purpose, and leave his great work unaccomplished.

But the idea of uniting his two navies still haunted him. If it could not be effected in one way, might it not in another? His Greek friends would tell him that the Ocean surrounded the whole of the earth,¹ and he might conclude from this that Africa was a peninsula. If so, might it not be circumnavigated? To obtain an answer to this question, Neco despatched from a port on the Red Sea a body of Phoenician mariners, who, starting with abundant supplies, sailed southward until they reached the extremity of the African continent, rounded the Cape of Storms, and returned, by way of the Atlantic, the Straits of Gibraltar, and the Mediterranean, to the country from which they had taken their departure.² The attempt was a success; but the success involved a disappointment. So much time was taken up by the voyage that the junction between the two seas, thus proved to exist, was of no practical service. Neco had to content himself with the glory of a geographical discovery, and to relinquish wholly his project of uniting his two fleets into one.

Having occupied in these enterprises the first two or three years of his reign,³ Neco, in B.C. 608, proceeded to commence active military operations,⁴ invading Syria with a large army by land,⁵ while no

¹ Herod. iv. 8.

² See Herodotus (iv. 42). The fact of the circumnavigation has been much disputed, but it is accepted by Gosselin (*History of Greece*, vol. ii. § 430) Juchet (*Forcungen aus der Geschichte des Alterthums*, N. 3) Wiedemann (*Geschichte Aegyptens*, p. 146), Barb. Leuclerc (*Egypt*, p. 178), and others.

³ Neco's accession is placed by the best authorities between B.C. 612 and 610. From the fact that Syria seems to have been certainly in his hands.

⁴ Herod. ii. 159.

⁵ That the land force consisted to a large extent of the Greek and Carian mercenaries, especially the former, is evidenced by the fact that

doubt his fleet co-operated by advancing along the shore. Already possessed of Ascalon and Ashdod, he found no difficulty in penetrating by the coast route¹ as far north as the city of Megiddo on the border of the great plain of Esdraelon. There, however, he was confronted by a hostile force, which blocked his way. Josiah, king of Judah, an energetic monarch, who had taken advantage of the fall of Nineveh, and the general misgovernment of Western Asia consequent thereupon, to reunite under his sway the greater part of the old kingdom of David,² determined on opposing the further progress of the Egyptian army,³ either from a sense of duty, because he regarded himself as a Babylonian feudatory, or from a suspicion that, if the Egyptians became lords of Syria, they would not allow him to retain his sovereignty. In vain Neco tried to disarm his opposition, and induce him to retire, by an assurance that he had no hostile intentions against Judah,⁴ but was on his way to Carchemish, the great stronghold upon the Euphrates, where he hoped to meet and engage the forces of Nabopolassar, king of Babylon. Josiah was obdurate. Even Neco's assurance did not stay with him, and he had commanded the expedition,⁵

Neco sent the amount in which he found the Megiddo to be. It was as a tribute being in the process of being paid at Tyre, near Sidon, the Egyptian monarch had made a treaty with Josiah. See Herod. lib. ii. c. 151 and compare Strab. lib. xvi. p. 634.

The ordinary coast route proposed here seems as far as I know, to have been used to avoid the detour round the head of Carmel, notwithstanding the apparent impossibility of the Samarian hypothesis. Here Megiddo was situated. On the

mistake of Herodotus in making it a Macedonian city, see also the mistake of Strabo in making it a Macedonian city. Herodotus (lib. ii. c. 151, note 1, See ed.).

¹ Josiah was king, 16-10; 2 Chron. xxxiv. 1-4.

² 2 Chron. xxi. 20.

³ 2 Chron. xxxiv. 21.

⁴ Ibid. The Egyptian king generally warlike, and was to be no exception. Several times various were seen, as by Manetho (lib. i. c. 151, note 1, See ed.). Herodotus (lib. ii. c. 151, note 1, See ed.). Strabo (lib. xvi. p. 634, note 1, See ed.).

failed to alter his resolution. A battle was thus forced on the Egyptian monarch, who would gladly have avoided one; and the hosts of Egypt and Judæa met, for the first time since the days of Asa, in the neighbourhood of Megiddo, the scene of so many conflicts. As might have been expected, the Jewish king, not being numerically helped, as Asa was against Zerah,¹ very soon succumbed; his army was completely defeated, and he himself mortally wounded by an arrow. Hastily quitting the battle-field, he made his way to Jerusalem, where he shortly afterwards died of the hurt received at Megiddo.² The Egyptian monarch, having brushed away the obstacles in his path, pursued his march through Galilee and Cade Syria to the Euphrates. Whether he fought any more battles or no is uncertain; but it appears that his expedition was entirely successful, and that the whole country submitted to him³ as far as Car-hemish Jerubabab. Three months sufficed for the conquest,⁴ and at the expiration of that time the victorious monarch returned to Egypt, taking Judæa on his way, and making new arrangements for its political status and government. As a king had been set up in the place of Josiah without his authority, he deposed him, loaded him with chains, and carried him to Egypt as a prisoner.⁵ He did not, however, abolish the Jewish state. On the contrary, he selected from the family of Josiah the prince who had the best

¹ 1. of the above-cited work p. 113. 2. 114.

² 2 Kings xiv. 12, xvi. 8.

³ 2 Kings xvi. 1.

⁴ Time is evident both from 2 Kings xiv. 7 where we hear of Naumothum's return, from the river of Egypt and from Judæa, and all that pertained to the king of Egypt, and also from Ber-

tesis ap. Joseph. *Ant. lib. 10. c. 11.* where we find an account of this re-conquest.

⁵ This appears from the three years of the reign of Jehoahaz (2 Kings xvi. 1) who was taken king when Josiah died, if he reigned and died soon after the return of Sennacherib from Car-hemish.

⁶ 2 Kings xxiii. 33 and 34.

title to the throne,¹ and established him at Jerusalem as subject or tributary monarch. He then fixed the tribute² which Judah should pay: a hundred talents of silver (40,623*l*.) and a talent of gold (11,000*l*.), which may be considered a very moderate requirement, and returned to his own country.

The subjection of Syria to Egypt continued for three years.³ But in B.C. 605 Nabopolassar, king of Babylon, having perhaps associated his eldest son, Nebuchadrezzar,⁴ sent him at the head of a large army to win his spurs in a campaign against King Necho. That monarch, aware of what was intended, marched in person to the defence of his newly acquired territory, and took up a position resting upon Carchemish,⁵ where he waited the onset of the enemy. The Egyptian force comprised, as usual, a large body of chariots, consisting besides of horsemen and footmen. It was an immense host, and is described under the metaphor of a flood, whose waters toss to and fro, and cover the face of the earth.⁶ Seemingly the Greeks and Chittims did not on this occasion form any part of the expedition, African auxiliaries alone being employed—Ethiopians, Nabatians, and Marmarites.⁷ It

¹ Jehonahaz, the people's chosen, was Josiah's second son. *2 Kings*, *Neco's chosen*, by accident. (*2 Kings* xxvi. 11 and 20, *2 Chron.* xxxv. 2 and 6.)

² *2 Kings* xxi. 33.

³ *Ibid.* xlv. 1.

⁴ Nabuchadrezzar was distinctly regarded as 'king of Babylon' at this time by the Jews (*2 Kings* xxi. 1 *Jer.* xli. 2 *Dan* i. 1). That he is rather was still alive appears from *Jeremiah*, *loc. cit.*

⁵ *Jerem.* *loc. cit.* 'The army of Pharaoh-Necho, king of Egypt,

which was by the river Euphrates' (*loc. cit.*)

⁶ *Ibid.* verse 8, with the comment of *Deane Payne Smith*, the *Speaker's Commentary* vol. i. p. 2.

⁷ *Jerem.* xli. 1. Mr. St. art Paul has suggested that the 'Chittims' of this passage may represent the Greek and Carian mercenaries, *History of the Bible*, vol. ii. p. 180, but the Lulim are elsewhere always an African people (*Gen.* x. 16, *1 Chron.* i. 11, *Isa.* lvi. 10, *Ezek.* xxx. 5).

was not long before Nebuchadnezzar made his appearance, and joined battle with his adversary. We have no particulars of the engagement, but its result is abundantly apparent. Neco suffered a complete and shameful defeat. His 'valiant men were swept away;' ¹ they 'fled apace,' ² and 'stumbled one over another.' ³ The prestige of Egypt, which lately stood so high, was utterly lost. The cry went forth, 'Pharaoh, king of Egypt, is but a rose,' an empty sound, and nothing more; 'he has passed the appointed time, outlived his energies, and is no longer formidable.' ⁴ The victorious Babylonians carried all before them, swept down the Gile-Syrian valley, overran Galilee and Samaria, and appeared shortly before Jerusalem. Jeconiah resisted them, and the city stood a siege, but was quickly taken and plundered by the irresistible invaders. ⁵ Nebuchadnezzar then continued his march southwards, with the intention of attacking Egypt, and would probably have made himself master of the country, had he not been suddenly called away to Babylon by intelligence of the decease of his father. Leaving his prisoners and the bulk of his troops to make the long march by the ordinary circuitous route, he himself with a few light-armed crossed the desert and hurried to the capital. ⁶

Neco thus obtained a respite, and was able in some measure to repair his losses and redeem his position, before Nebuchadnezzar found himself at leisure to return into Syria, and see to the consolation of his

¹ Jer. lvi. 10.

² Ibid. verse 6.

³ Ibid. verse 10.

⁴ Jer. xlv. 7.

⁵ Dan. i. 1, 2. 2 Chron. xxxvi. lxxv.

⁶ 6, 7. It was at this time that Daniel

and his companions were carried off, to be a nurse in the royal palace at Babylon.

⁷ Herodotus ap. Euseb. Chron. Can. lxxv.

power in that distant and not very submissive region. The Egyptian monarch saw clearly that it was of the utmost importance to raise up opponents to the Baby-
lonians in the Syrian territory, and prevent them from obtaining quiet possession of a tract which would bring them to the very doors of Egypt. He therefore intrigued with Judah,¹ and probably also with Phoenicia, urging the newly-subjected kings to rebel and throw off the Babylonian yoke. In two instances he was successful. Jehoiakim, after three years of submissive endurance, in B.C. 602, declared the independence of his country,² and the king of Tyre, a few years later,³ followed the example of his Jewish brother. Nabuchadnezzar had to begin the conquest of Syria afresh, and, recognising the importance of the crisis, made preparations accordingly. Collecting an army of above 300,000 men, partly composed of his own subjects, partly of Median allies,⁴ i.e. in the year B.C. 598, marched for the second time westward, crossed the Tigris, and led his troops into Palestine. Dividing his army into two portions, he formed the siege of Tyre and of Jerusalem simultaneously.⁵ Jerusalem was soon reduced, but Tyre resisted with the utmost stubbornness. For thirteen years⁶ the further progress of the Babylonian arms was arrested by a single city of no great size, but strong in her wealth and her situation. Under these circumstances, Egypt escaped

¹ Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* x. 10, § 2. *Water. Archa. archæol.* vol. xiv. *JERUSALEM* x. 10. § 2. *Ant. Jud.* x. 10. § 2. *Ant. Jud.* x. 10. § 2. *Ant. Jud.* x. 10. § 2.

² *Ant. Jud.* x. 10, § 2. *Ant. Jud.* x. 10, § 2. *Ant. Jud.* x. 10, § 2. *Ant. Jud.* x. 10, § 2. *Ant. Jud.* x. 10, § 2.

³ *Ant. Jud.* x. 10, § 2. *Ant. Jud.* x. 10, § 2. *Ant. Jud.* x. 10, § 2. *Ant. Jud.* x. 10, § 2. *Ant. Jud.* x. 10, § 2.

⁴ Compare 2 Chron. xxxiv. 6 with Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* x. 10, § 2. Both authors seem to have imagined a great army.

⁵ Josephus, *l.c.* Compare Ezek. xlii. 15 where the words 'siege' and 'Tyre' which Nabuchadnezzar carried against Tyre is mentioned.

all further attack; and Neco must have felt that his intrigues had had a success which he had scarcely dared to anticipate.

From B.C. 605—the year of the battle of Carchemish—to B.C. 596, when he died, Neco undertook no military expeditions, but nursed his strength, and remained persistently on the defensive. It was probably during this interval that he occupied himself with the buildings which are mentioned in some of his inscriptions. Though not a monarch who greatly interested himself in architecture or art, Neco still regarded it as incumbent upon him to leave some memorials of his reign. He made additions to the temples of Phtah and Neith at Memphis,¹ on behalf of Sais,² and set up tablets in the galleries of Thebes and in the valley of Hamamat.³ A statue, which represents him on his knees making an offering, adorns a private collection in Paris.⁴ Several vases and scarabs bear his name,⁵ but, on the whole, he must be placed among the kings whose remains are scanty and insignificant. He is thought to have been buried at Sais,⁶ whence, early in the last century, was brought a scarabæus, taken from a tombway, which bore his name and had probably been placed by the embalmers upon the region of his heart.⁷

According to Lepsius,⁸ Neco had two wives, Netakert-mena-ti, his half-sister, and Takhnat or Taktot. It was the latter who bore him the son by whom he was succeeded,⁹ and whom he named after his own

¹ Wiedemann, *Geschichte Aegyptens*, v. 156.

² Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 50.

³ *Denkmäler pt. iii. pl. 27, 4 a, b*.

⁴ Wiedemann, *Geschichte Aegyptens*, i. 184.



⁵ *Ibid.* p. 166.

⁶ Birch, *l.c.*

⁷ *Ibid.* Compare Wiedemann, *Geschichte Aegyptens*, p. 155.

⁸ *Ueber die Aegyptische Archäologie*, *Table II.* at the end of the work.

⁹ Wiedemann, *l.c.* Compare Birch, *l.c.*

father Psamatik. This prince, called by Herodotus Psammetichus,¹ and known to modern historians as Psammetichus II., was distinguished from his grandfather by the throne-name² of Nefersap-ra, , the throne-name of Psammetichus I. having been Un-sap-ra, . His short reign of six years, or rather of five years and a half,³ was not very eventful. As Tyre still held out the efforts of Nebuchadnezzar,⁴ there was for the time no danger of the Babylonians troubling Egypt, and Psammetichus seems to have felt himself so secure upon this side that he ventured to employ the main strength of the empire in the directly opposite quarter. Herodotus tells us that he made an expedition into Ethiopia,⁵ and his own monuments give numerous indications of his presence and directing energy upon the Ethiopian border. Two inscriptions on the rocks at Elephantine, one in the island of Bigeh or Begh, two at Philæ, and one in the island of Koussou,⁶ imply a stay of some considerable length at the extreme south of his own proper territory. If we refer to his reign the celebrated Arabian Greek inscription of Abu Simbel,⁷ we may consider that we have actual evidence of his Ethiopian expedition having penetrated deep into Nubia, under the joint command of a Greek and an Egyptian general, in the latter of whom we may perhaps recog-

¹ Herod. i. 133. Manetho called him Psammetichus. Syncell. *Chronograph.* p. 17.

² Leclercq, *Königsbuch* Taf. xlviii. No. 54.

³ The Apes and other stones show that he reigned 6 years and 6 months, and Herodotus tells us that he died at the age of five years and a half (Wiedemann, *Geschichte Aegyptens*, pp. 117-118.)

⁴ Psammetichus II. probably reigned from 595 to 589 B.C. or 590 or 585. Nebuchadnezzar's siege of Tyre lasted from 585 to 573 B.C.

⁵ Herod. ii. 101.

⁶ See Wiedemann, *Geschichte Aegyptens*, p. 118.

⁷ See the notes to Herodotus, vol. ii. p. 34, and compare the *Lib. Corp. Inscriptions* No. 5126. Leclercq, *Denkmäler*, pl. vi. pls. 32, 33, &c.

lose the later Egyptian monarch, Amasis.¹ Whether a contingent of Jews also lent their aid to the Egyptian monarch, as stated by Aristæus,² is perhaps more doubtful, yet is certainly not beyond the range of possibility. Egypt and Judæa were at this time closely drawn together by common fear of Babylon, and though Zedekiah, the king of Judæa contemporary with Psamatik II., was a Babylonian feudatory, yet in his heart he was thoroughly disaffected, intended to revolt, and looked to Egypt to support him. The friendly act of sending some of his own subjects to aid Psamatik would strengthen his claim for a return in kind when the fitting hour came, and may thus be accepted, though the authority upon which it rests is weak.

Psamatik would seem not to have brought the Ethiopian war to an end. An inscription upon a statue now in the Louvre tells us that an Egyptian general, named Hor or Horns, was engaged in a struggle with the 'miserable Kesh' in the first year of Apries, and completely vanquished them, thus terminating the war which had been commenced by that king's predecessor.³

Though little distinguished as a warrior or as a statesman, as a patron of art Psamatik II. followed worthily in the footsteps of his grandfather. He adorned with bas reliefs the temples of Abydos and Thebe,⁴ made additions to the great fane of Ammon at Thebes,⁵ erected an obelisk (or obelisks,⁶ to Ra-

Wilkinson in Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 45. The identification is barely possible, since the king Amasis outlived the expedition by at least sixty-three years.

¹ See Wiedemann, *Geschichte Aegyptens*, p. 157, note 1.

² Wiedemann, *l.c.c.*

³ See Mariette, *Fouilles en Egypte*, pl. 18 bis, b. *Abydos*, pl. 2 b. Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, pl. iv. pl. 274 d.

⁴ See Mariette, *Geschichte Aegyptens*, p. 161.

⁵ Obelisks were almost always set up in pairs. The obelisk of Psamatik II. still stands in Rome, and is

Harmachis and Tum, probably at Heliopolis, and adorned Sais with a statue of himself and another of the goddess Neith.¹ Statuary seems to have received great attention during his reign. Besides the two figures already mentioned, the museums of Europe and Africa contain at least five others, mostly, however, incomplete, which belong to this period.² One of these, in the collection of the Vatican, is said to be remarkable for its beauty.³

The wife of Psamatik II was a Nubian, distinguished as Sert-pt Mentu,⁴ the daughter of Neco and Nubia-Minmut. She bore him two children, a son, to whom was given as a name the throne name of his great-grandfather, Tanptra, and a daughter, called Arkmesinfertpa.⁵ The son succeeded, and was known among the early Greeks as Apries,⁶ among the later as Uaphris.⁷ He was a vigorous and enterprising prince, not afraid of measuring his strength against that of Babylon, and having as for his especial aim to re-establish Egyptian influence over the Asiatic regions formerly held by the great kings of the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth dynasties and recently occupied for three years by Neco. Having rapidly brought the Elamian war commenced by his father, Psamatik, to a successful conclusion⁸ (B.C. 591-0), he sent a ready ear, in B.C. 588, to the ambassadors of Zedekian, king

¹ See also the Hieroglyphic Catalogue.

² See Lepsius, *Denkmäler der Ägypten*.

³ Ibid. pp. 200-1.

⁴ Ibid. p. 200.

⁵ Ibid. p. 200. The name is given as Arkmesinfertpa.

⁶ See Lepsius, *Denkmäler der Ägypten*, p. 200.

⁷ See Lepsius, *Denkmäler der Ägypten*, p. 200.

⁸ See Lepsius, *Denkmäler der Ägypten*, p. 200.

¹ The Assyrian-Hamite of

Lepsius, *Denkmäler der Ägypten*, p. 200.

² See Lepsius, *Denkmäler der Ägypten*, p. 200.

³ Ibid. p. 200.

⁴ See Lepsius, *Denkmäler der Ägypten*, p. 200.

⁵ See Lepsius, *Denkmäler der Ägypten*, p. 200.

⁶ See Lepsius, *Denkmäler der Ägypten*, p. 200.

⁷ See Lepsius, *Denkmäler der Ägypten*, p. 200.

of Judaea, who proposed a close alliance between the two countries, and engaged that Zedekiah should throw off the Babylonian yoke and openly rebel, if Apries (Hophra) would agree to support the movement by a considerable army.¹ A treaty was at once concluded on these terms; Judaea revolted: and towards the close of the year Nebuchadnezzar laid siege to Jerusalem, building forts around it,² and blockading it so strictly that no one could either quit the city or enter it. Apries, under these circumstances, received his pledge, levied an army, and, quitting Egypt, marched to the relief of the beleaguered city, and actually raised the siege.³ The Babylonian monarch did not wish to be placed between two fires, but broke up from before Jerusalem, and proceeded southward to meet the more important enemy. Hophra, advancing along the coast route, had, it would seem, taken Gaza,⁴ and, perhaps Ascalon,⁵ when he received intelligence of the approach of the Babylonians. It is generally supposed that he at once withdrew into Egypt, so avoiding a battle,⁶ but so sudden a change of mind seems improbable, and Josephus distinctly asserts that an engagement was fought in which Nebuchadnezzar was

¹ Ezek. xxx. 15. "He Zedekias") rebelled against him in such a manner as to draw him into Egypt, at which time he gave him horses and much booty."

² Jer. xxxi. 4. "Jer. xl. 4."

³ Jer. xxxi. 5. "Then, when his army was come forth out of Egypt, and when the Chaldeans that besieged Jerusalem heard thereof, they departed from Jerusalem."

⁴ Jer. xli. 1. "I agree with Herodotus and the authors of the Jewish History, that the capture of Gaza by

Apries was probably in this occasion. See notes G. of the same chapter, where Gaza and Ascalon are coupled together."

⁵ "Herodotus," says *Speuchen's Commentary*, vol. v. p. 503. "He took Ascalon, and it is probable that he took Gaza, too, and that he retired without fighting, and so it is said, *second History*, vol. i. p. 184. 2d Edition. *Manual of History Americans*, &c. p. 308, and *there*. But the words of Josephus really leave the question an open one."

victorious¹ Apries, worsted in the fight, had to retire, and made no further effort. The blockade of Jerusalem was re-established, famine set in, the Holy City fell in B.C. 586, and the last remnant of the Jewish people was led away into captivity.² Tyre surrendered in the next year,³ and the schemes of Apries, for the moment, came to nought. Babylon triumphed, the great king returned in B.C. 585 to Babylon, with more than one conquered monarch in his train, victorious over Egypt, Ethiopia, and Judea, master of Asia from the range of Zagros on the one hand to the 'river of Egypt' on the other.

But success is apt to begot security, and periods of exertion are, in the East especially, apt to be followed by periods of repose and inactivity. Nebuchadnezzar, when he returned home from his captures of Tyre and Jerusalem, must have reached an age at which the physical powers begin to decay, and when rest becomes an object of desire to most men.⁴ The silence of the Babylonian historian⁵ and of the Babylonian monuments with respect to military expeditions at this period of his reign gives rise to the suspicion that, having, as he thought, done enough for glory, he now proceeded to console himself for the hardships of warfare by giving himself up to the seductive enjoyments of an Oriental court. In any case, Apries seems to have been emboldened to resume his projects of aggrandise-

¹ Joseph. *Ant. Jud.* x. 7 § 3.

² 2 Kings xlv. 2, 21, 2 Chron. [xlv. 17, 20.]

³ See *Encyclopædia Britannica*, *Vols. archæol.* vol. i. p. 94, 2nd ed.

⁴ We can suppose Nebuchadnezzar to have been born about two hundred or twenty years when he universalised the war against Neco

in B.C. 608. If he was born in B.C. 630, he would have reached the age of forty in B.C. 585. That is an age at which repose becomes very dear to mortals.

⁵ Berosus. It is true that we have only fragments of this writer's work, so that the argument at present rests on some of its force.

ment, and to have attacked Syria with a combined fleet and army.¹ We are told by Herodotus that he fought a battle with the king of Tyre at sea, and sent an expedition against Sidon by land.² Diodorus adds that he took Sidon, and defeated the combined fleet of Phœnicia and Cyprus in a great engagement.³ These grand successes so exalted him that he is said to have defied the gods to cast him down,⁴ just as at an earlier date he had called the Nile his own creation—the stream which he had made for himself.⁵

It was, however, in the councils of Providence, that he should suffer a severe reverse of fortune and perish miserably.⁶ What degree of credence, indeed, we ought to attach to the story told by Herodotus of the circumstances under which he was deposed and put to death, is doubtful. Herodotus was informed by the Egyptians that the revolution which brought his reign to an end arose out of an unsuccessful expedition against Tyrene, in which he was thought to have intentionally sacrificed the lives of some thousands of his soldiers,⁷ but Josephus believed that he was put to death by Nebuchadnezzar.⁸ Insertions have recently been discovered which show that Nebuchadnezzar did really invade Egypt in his thirty-seventh

¹ Some historians place the Phœnicians with the Assyrians, and believe the last words of Jeremiah by Nebuchadnezzar (Jer. li. 13) to be an ancient prophecy. See *Smith's Ancient History*, v. p. 124; Weymouth, *Canaanite Remains*, pp. 216-41. But they ought to forget that exactly at the same time Tyre was being besieged by Nebuchadnezzar, and was probably in alliance with Egypt certainly advancing Egyptian interests.

² Herod. ii. 103.

³ Ibid. vi. 1-46.

⁴ Ibid. ii. 149.

⁵ Ibid. xxix. 1-9.

⁶ Jeremiah had prophesied (ch. xix. 9-10): "Thus saith the Lord, Behold, I will give Pharaoh-Hophra king of Egypt into the hand of his enemies, and into the hand of them that seek his life." (Jer. xlix. 3.)

⁷ Herod. ii. 101-2. Phœnicians (Jer.) simply repeats Herodotus, and cannot be regarded as a reliable witness.

⁸ Joseph. *Ant. Jud.* x. 9, § 7.

year B.C. 568), a date which falls within the lifetime of Apries,¹ and coincides so nearly with the accession of Amasis as to render it highly probable that the two events were connected. The Babylonian monarch, it appears, overran the whole of Egypt as far as Syène, and only there encountered the Egyptian troops,² who were under the command of the general Hor, the hero of Apries's Libyan campaign.³ This commander claims the merit of having inflicted a check on the Babylonian arms, and caused Nebuchadnezzar to retire, but he does not dispute the fact that all Egypt lay at his mercy, and that he had it in his power to remodel the government as he pleased. To depose one monarch and set up another was the usual practice of the Babylonians; to execute a prince who had rebelled against their code of international law was a proceeding not unknown to them,⁴ it cannot but be suspected, more now than ever, that the true course of events was concealed from Herodotus by the self-love of the Egyptians, and that, whatever discontent may have arisen from the failure of the Cyprian expedition, Apries was really deposed and executed, and Amasis succeeding in his stead, by Nebuchadnezzar.

The victim of a monarch's offended dignity, or, if we are to believe Herodotus, of a mob's hatred, was not deprived of the funeral honours to which his birth entitled him. His body was embalmed, and buried in

¹ The son reign of Apries terminates B.C. 571, but he lived probably six years longer, and the seven months and Amasis, and he up by some registered as a king, B.C. 571 B.C. See Herodotus, lib. II. W. Gutschmid, *Geschichte Aegyptens*, p. 467.

² A quotation in the *Zeitschrift*

für ägyptische Sprache for 1878, pp. 276, and 279. Compare also *Lehrbuch Aegyptens*, pp. 108, 9.

³ See p. 47.

⁴ Josephus *Ant. Jud.* x. 4. I cannot see that his account of the execution of Jothan by Sennacherib is inconsistent with Scripture.

the royal burial-place, inside the temple of Sais, very near the sanctuary. The passions which had pursued the living man calmed themselves in the presence of death, and the last monarch of the line of Psammeticus I. was allowed to find a resting place in the sepulchre of his fathers.

Apries was wholly undistinguished as a builder, and cannot be said to have been even a liberal patron of art. We have no evidence of his having employed more than a single sculptor on a single occasion in the highest kind of glyptic art, namely statuary.¹ His stela are, however, common, and are sometimes adorned with bas-reliefs;² but these have little merit. Nor can more praise be given to the wall paintings belonging to his reign which have been found at Nabariet,³ and elsewhere. His most noted work is that small obelisk which now stands in the Piazza Minerva at Rome, placed by the fantastic Beloni on the back of an elephant.⁴ It is one of a pair,⁵ which the Romans brought from Egypt to adorn the temple of Isis and Serapis, when they adopted the worship of those Egyptian deities. Originally dedicated to Neith, and erected, probably at Sais, it became the symbol of a very different and far lower worship in a remote and then capital.

If Apries, however, cared little for artistic memorials, he did not neglect to leave behind him numerous records of his reign in the way of inscriptions. At least six inscribed stela belonging to his time are still

¹ Herod. ii. 169.

² One single fragment of a stela of Apries is all that remains of it. It is now in the British Museum (No. 2007).

³ Wiedemann, *Geschichte Aegyptens*, pp. 171 and 175.


⁴ *Plantamour*, p. 1, pl. 273 & c.

⁵ *Napoli Italy*, p. 340.

⁶ Wiedemann, *Geschichte Aegyptens*, p. 174.

⁷ *Vossius*, l. c.

extant,¹ and he has left rock inscriptions at the Bihau-el Miduk,² at Siut,³ at the island of Bageh,⁴ at Philæ,⁵ and at the island of Konosso.⁶ His most important memorial is one found on the site of the temple of Ptah at Memphis, which has been translated by Dr Wiedemann.⁷ It secures the rights and privileges of the god Ptah, and of the priests attached to his worship at Memphis, in very stringent terms, requiring all officers to protect the priests in the possession of the temple-lands, to impress for the public service none of their slaves or peasants, and even to maintain in good repair the canals by which the temple-lands were intersected. It is evident that under Apries the priest class retained its ascendancy, and that even a monarch, who thought no god could cast him down, regarded it as prudent to court priestly favour.

It is agreed on all hands that Amasis, — , or Amasis, who succeeded Apries, was entirely unconnected by blood with the Psammis family. According to Herodotus, he was a native of Souch, a small town in the neighbourhood of Siut,⁸ and was not even a member of a distinguished house, but a man who sprung from the mid-bosom. This is not disproved by his possession of high military rank, even if he was an officer under Psammis.⁹ Since in the Egyptian military service advancement was obtained solely by merit, various tales were told, not greatly to his credit, of the conduct pursued by Amasis in his younger days,¹⁰ when

¹ See Wiedemann's copy in the *Monuments de l'Égypte*, p. 100.

² *Herodotus* pt. ii. p. 274 b.

³ *Ibid.* p. 274 m.

⁴ *Ibid.* pt. 274 c.

⁵ *Herodotus*, *Notae*, *Herodotus*, p. 113.

⁶ *Herodotus* pt. ii. p. 274 f.

⁷ *Herodotus*, *Notae*, p. 113.

⁸ *Ibid.* p. 113. *Herodotus*, p. 113. *Herodotus*, p. 113.

⁹ *Herodotus*, p. 113, note.

¹⁰ *Herodotus*, p. 113.

he was 'sowing his wild oats;' but it is questionable whether much credit should be attached to them. Even the anecdotes of his behaviour as king¹ are of the legendary type, parallel to those which the early Persians loved to tell of Cyrus, and the later ones of Artaxerxes, son of Babek, the historical value of which is about equal to that of the tale, with which each English child is made familiar in the nursery, of King Alfred having his ears boxed by the zealand's wife. We may perhaps conclude, from the general tone of the tales, that among the characteristics of the monarch was a rough and not over-delicate humour, which pleased the common people but shocked the more refined among his subjects. He compensated, however, for this unseemly trait by numerous good qualities. He was active and energetic, exemplary in his devotion to business, distinguished as a leader, as a conqueror, as a legislator, and above all as an administrator. If he began his reign under discreditable circumstances, holding his crown as a Babylonian feudatory, and bound, probably to the payment of a tribute, he ultimately succeeded in raising Egypt to a high pitch of prosperity and a lofty position among the nations. The decline and fall of Babylon,² complete in a. 538, gave Egypt wholly into his hands, and enabled him to pursue a policy of his own devising, which, whatever its effect on the national spirit and on the ultimate fate of his country, had at any rate the immediate result of enormously developing Egypt's resources and increasing her wealth and population. Herodotus declares that Egypt had in his day 20,000 inhabited cities,³ and though this statement may be

¹ Herod. i. 179-2.

the death of Nebuchad-nazzar.

² Chronology, about B.C. 501, at

³ Herod. ii. 177. *ιστορικόν*.

pronounced impossible, yet it is strongly significant of the extremely flourishing condition of the country under the rule of Amasis. A series of high inundations is said to have intensified the productive power of the land,¹ while an active commerce² encouraged the chief Egyptian industries, led to the accumulation of fortunes, and rendered easily procurable a great variety of luxuries. Amasis induced the Greeks to settle in large numbers at Naukratis, and to adorn the town and neighbourhood with temples of the peculiar Grecian type. He had friendly dealings with the important Greek state of Cyrene, and even took for one of his secondary wives a Cyrenæan lady, called Lathæ, whom he treated with especial favour.³ He also removed the Greek merchants from the position assigned to them by Psamtichus I., and brought them to the capital city of Memphis,⁴ where he made them the garrison of the place. To mark his affection for the Greeks, he offered rich presents to Delphi,⁵ Samos, Lampsac, and Cyrene, sending to the last mentioned place a statue of Athene covered with plates of gold, as well as a painted likeness of himself.⁶

The only warlike expedition in which Amasis is known to have engaged was one against Cyprus. That important island has formed a part of the Egyptian dominions under the eighteenth dynasty,⁷ and was long

writing under the Pharaohs, extending to the time of Amasis. The number of cities in Egypt (Herod. *Geogr.* viii. 31) at that period, now or at anything to be feared.

¹ Herod. *loc.*

² *Ibid.* ii. 172.

³ *Ibid.* ii. 181. The dealings of Amasis with Cyrene are also mentioned by Ptolemy (*Geograph. Hist.* v. 15).

2500) and Herodotus (*Strat.* vii. 1) could do no with his own nation, to be regarded as a nation, to maintain the honour of Herodotus.

⁴ Herod. ii. 174.

⁵ *Ibid.* ii. 175.

⁶ *Ibid.* ii. 182.

⁷ See above, pp. 245-51.

again subjected and forced to pay tribute.¹ Its reduction implies the temporary weakness of Phœnicia, which always threw the arms of its protection over its near neighbour, when sufficiently strong to do so, and frequently claimed and exercised a certain authority over the whole island. It would seem that the long war of Nebuchadnezzar against Tyre and the subsequent expedition of Apries against both Tyre and Sidon had so brought down the Phœnician power at this time, that no help could be given to the Cypriots. To suppose, however, that Phœnicia itself was subject to Amasis, is to intrude into the narrative a fact of which there is absolutely no evidence,² monumental or other, while to state³ that "he led an army into Syria and made himself master of the Phœnician towns," is to indulge in a flight of fancy scarcely worthy of a serious historian.

Amasis lived at a time in the world's history when vast changes were impending, when the entire East was in a condition of ferment and transition, old things being on the point of vanishing away, and all things of becoming new. It is doubtful whether any amount of political wisdom could have enabled him to pursue such a course as would have saved Egypt from invasion and conquest, and the kingdom of the Pharaohs from extinction. As it was, the tree shewed common-

¹ Herod. ii. 162 ad fin. Compare *Prod. Sic.* i. 6.

² Such evidence as exists is rather the other way. By a curious coincidence recently brought from Babylon it appears that the people of the Tower of Babel were the same as the Phœnicians, and that the subject of Nabonidus, king of Babel, up to the last year of his war with Cyrus,

which was A.C. 538. In that year they were defeated and probably exterminated their independence. See *the Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. ii. p. 14.

³ As Dr. Wiedemann does in *his book on Egyptus von Pharaonen &c.* p. 174 &c. He says in Arabic, "he went to Syria and made himself master of the Phœnician towns," &c.

sense which characterised him was a very insufficient guide amid the difficulties of the situation, and the course which he actually took was one certainly not calculated to keep him free from entanglements, and master of the situation. In the year B.C. 555, yielding to the representations of the Lydian king, Croesus, he allowed himself to be drawn into a tripartite treaty, which bound up his fortunes irrevocably with those of two Asiatic kingdoms, exposed to far more immediate danger than his own. The rise of the Perso-Median power was a new feature in Asiatic history, and might have been expected to revolutionise Asia, but its effects did not necessarily flow on into another continent. Prudence should have suggested to a monarch geographically isolated to pursue a policy of abstention. Instead of so long, Amasis was tempted by the apparent advantage of uniting three powers against one to join with Lydia and Babylon in an alliance against Persia, and so to give Cyrus, the Persian king, a ground of quarrel with him. Whether he actually sent troops to the assistance of Lydia, or not, is perhaps doubtful, being denied by Herodotus¹ and asserted by Xenophon.² Subsequently, however, when he attacked Cyprus, he clearly took a second step on the road to hostilities with Persia, since, after conquering Babylon (B.C. 538), Cyrus undoubtedly regarded himself as inheriting the whole of the Babylonian empire, which embraced Phœnicia, and Cyprus,

¹ Herod. l. 1.²⁷

² Ibid. l. 1. 48. 1. The account of Herodotus is that Croesus, informed by the profits which on his return to Sardis from Persia, that he was named there to appear in the great month, that his envoys had already taken their departure, when the army of Cyrus appeared before Sardis, gave the Lydians a second

defeat and took the city within a month. No particulars are given, and it is plain that they could not have arrived in time.

³ Xen. *Cyrop.* vi. 2, § 16, vii. 1, § 43-48. The completely unwarlike character of the tyrannical has been sufficiently exposed by Mr. Grote (*History of Greece*, vol. i. p. 415, vol. iii. p. 157).

as depending on Pharnaces. It would appear that Cyrus at once took umbrage, and with hostile intent sent an embassy to Egypt, with the demand that Amasis should give him one of his daughters as a secondary wife. Such a demand, made by equal of equal, was an insult. Amasis, however, did not dare openly to reject it. He devised a sort of compromise, and sent a princess of the house of Apries, under pretence of her being his own daughter, to take the discreditable position. The fraud was discovered after a time, and a further cause of quarrel was thus added to those existing before.

Actual invasion did not, however, befall Egypt in Amasis' time. Cyrus, soon after his conquest of Babylon, became involved in a war on his north-east frontier,² which terminated disastrously. He died in B.C. 530-529, and his son Cambyses was at first occupied with a disputed succession.³ Thus Egypt had a respite. It was not till after the death of Amasis, in B.C. 528-7, that war actually broke out between the two powers, and the hosts of Persia made their attack on the kingdom of the Pharaohs.

During his long reign of forty-four years,⁴ Amasis found abundant time to encourage art and architecture. The chief object of his fostering care was his capital city of Sais, which owed to him much of its ornamentation. He added a great court of entrance to the temple of Neith in that city, with propylæa of unusual dimensions, adorned the process conducting to it with numerous andro-sphinxes, erected colossal statues within the temple precincts, and conveyed

¹ Herod. iii. 12.

² Herod. i. 201-14, *Ctes. Pers. Hist.* § 52-8.

³ *Herod. Pers. Hist.* vol. i. par. 10. Compare *Ctes. Pers. Hist.* § 40.

⁴ Herod. iii. 10. Manetho, ap. Syncell. *Chronograph.* p. 75 c. Diodorus (ii. 35) gave him forty-two years, counting in, probably the six months of Psamtik III.

thither from El-phautna a most colossal shrine or chamber of extraordinary dimensions.¹ The length of the chamber was, according to Herodotus, twenty-one cubits, or thirty one feet six inches, its width, twelve cubits, or eighteen feet, and its height five cubits, or seven and a half feet. It must have weighed several hundreds of tons.² Another similar shrine, but of smaller dimensions, was erected by Amasis at Throuis, or Iasatop-Is, and still remains *in situ*, the length of this is about twenty-two feet, the breadth thirteen, and the height eleven.³

Amasis also adorned Memphis with statues and buildings. A colossal work of the former class reached the great height of seventy-five feet, and is said by Herodotus⁴ to have been 'reconcent,' the truth perhaps being that it had never been erected. This statue, in the time of Herodotus, lay in front of the great temple of Ptah, where it seems to have been also seen by Strabo.⁵ Two lesser exœcra were placed by Amasis on either side of the same temple.⁶ The temple of Isis, which he erected at Memphis, was a large and handsome building.

Thebes, Abydos, and Bubastis were also scenes of his architectural activity. At Thebes the great Karnak temple is said to have been 'restored' by Amasis,⁷ at Abydos that of Osiris was beautified;⁸ at Bubastis that of Bast or Pasht was adorned.⁹ Mate-

¹ Herod. ii. 175. On the present condition of this, and the site of the temple of Sebaste, see Wilkinson's paper at the end of vol. ii. of the *Annals of Herodotus*.

² Birch, *Ancient Egypt* p. 182, estimates the weight at abt. 1500 tons.

³ See Wilkinson in the authors

Herodotus, vol. ii. p. 263, note 4, cited.

⁴ Herod. ii. 175.

⁵ Strabo xiv. 1, § 11.

⁶ Herod. l. c. The height of these was only twenty feet.

⁷ *Wörterbuch der Geographie und Topographie von Phoenizien* I. p. 144.

⁸ *Ibid.* p. 167. ⁹ *Ibid.* p. 168.

rials for the restorations and embellishments were derived from the quarries of Toorn, of Hammamât, and of Sûsîs, in all which places there are inscriptions dated in this monarch's reign, set up apparently by his officers.¹

Statuary received its full share of attention at this period, and the king himself was among those who gave this highest form of art the greatest encouragement. Besides his colossus, Amasis caused numerous statues to be made of himself, some of which have come down to our day. There is one, much injured, in the Villa Albani at Rome, another, in a still worse condition, at the Hague, and a third, or rather the head of a third, in the Museum of Boulaq.² To his reign belong also the statue of Pefnamet in the Museum of the Louvre, that of Nekau-menchit in the Museum of Berlin, and those of Psamatik, Uta-hot-suten-net, and Hentatâ, in the Museums of Florence and London. Statues are also mentioned among the presents which he bestowed upon Greek communities, as Cyrène, Bamos, and Lincoln.³ Some were in stone, others in wood, a material very commonly used by the Egyptians.

The picture of himself, painted on panel, which Amasis presented to the Cyrenæans,⁴ shows that he did not confine his attention to statuary, but was likewise a patron of the sister art of painting. Wilkinson says⁵ that works of art belonging to this class were produced by the Egyptians as early as the twelfth century; but it may be doubted whether painting of

¹ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, *Let Denkmäler*, pt. iii. pl. 2nd a-d.

² Wiedemann, *Geschichte*, &c., p. 134.

³ *Ibid* pp. 103-9.

⁴ Herod. ii. 182.

⁵ See above p. 492.

⁶ In the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 271, note 2, 3rd ed.

that early date was not limited to the coarse colouring of bas-reliefs, and whether portraits on a flat surface were not, at the time of Amasis, of recent introduction into Egypt from Asiatic Greece or Lydia, where the art seems to have originated.¹

Amasis appears to have had at least three wives.² The most important of them was Ankhnese-neraptu, daughter of Psamtik II. and of Nitocris, the sister of Apries, by espousing whom he sought to acquire a legitimate title to the throne of the Pharaohs. Another, as we have seen,³ was Ladice or Lædæe, the daughter of a Greek of Cyrene, whom he wedded to cement the friendship with that state. A third, named Tentkhetu, was the daughter of an Egyptian priest of Ptah, Pet-sut, or Pat-sut.⁴ The last-named of these royal ladies bore him the prince who succeeded him upon the throne under the name of Psamtik Ankh-ka-en-ra, ♂ ♀ 𓂏𓂐. Ankhnese-neraptu seems to have held the principal rank in the royal harem. She alone of the royal wives was allowed to exhibit herself upon the walls of temples, where she appears sometimes alone, sometimes accompanied by her husband, sometimes attended by an official called Shesh-ank.⁵ Her sarcophagus in black marble is of the finest quality, covered with hieroglyphics, and wrought with care and decency. It was found at Luxor, behind the Ramesseum, in a deep

¹ *Plin. Hist. Nat.* xxxv 3, to 50.

² Wiedemann adds another, whom he calls Chakht-art-bet, and of whom he finds no evidence in Mariette's *Mém. sur les Pharaons*, pls. 116, 117 and 118; *Brugsat's Aften* d., pl. 122, No. 2. Brugsat says 'Amasis married at least three, and apparently four, wives during his lifetime' (*Ancient*

Egypt, p. 183). Mariette calls this fourth wife Khetch-art-bet.

³ *Supra*, p. 401.

⁴ Lepsius, *Verh. der 22. ägypt. Kongress*, p. 800; Wiedemann, *Lebensgeschichte*, &c., p. 194.

⁵ See the *Denkmäler*, pl. iii. pls. 273 a-d, 274 a, b, c, d.

pit, by the French expedition of the beginning of the present century,¹ and is now to be seen in the great Egyptian gallery of the British Museum.²

Amasis was buried at Sais, in a tomb which he had prepared for himself within the precincts of the temple of Neith.³ It was a sepulchral chamber, opening out of one of the clustered courts, with folding doors, and with the tomb at the farther end. Though violated by Cambyses,⁴ it was not destroyed, but appears to have been seen by Herodotus in its pristine condition. There are, however, at present no remains to be seen of it.⁵

Phamatik III. succeeded his father at a time when the Persian invasion was a thing that could not be arrested. As his whole reign did not exceed six months,⁶ and the expedition must have been some months upon the march, we may presume that it was on its way at the time of his accession. All that he could do, therefore, was to make preparations for a stubborn resistance. He gathered his Greek and Carian mercenaries together, and took up a position near Pelusium,⁷ the point at which an invader from the north-east necessarily approached Egypt. The foreign corps was supported by a large army of native Egyptians; but it may be suspected that the two elements did not very heartily coalesce, and the result was a crushing defeat which decided the fate of the empire. If we may believe Ctesias,⁸ the loss on the Egyptian

¹ Wiedemann, *Geschichte*, &c., p. 107.

² Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 183.

³ Herod. ii. 130.

⁴ *Ibid.* iii. 10.

⁵ The remains of Sais are altogether scanty and insignificant, and the site of the Temple and

the royal sepulchres can only be guessed. (See Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 255, note *.)

⁶ Herod. iii. 14, Manetho ap. Syncell. *Chronograph.*, p. 75 n.

⁷ Herod. iii. 10.

⁸ Ctes. *Exc. Persic.* § 9.

side was 50,000 men, which implies a complete rout, while, as the Persians lost 7,000, there must have been some stiff fighting before the rout began. No doubt the Greeks fought well, but in the broad plain wherein the battle took place they would be outflanked, surrounded, and overpowered by numbers. The Persians were at no time contemptible soldiers, and they were now at the height of their national vigour; they had recently conquered the whole of Western Asia, were full of confidence in themselves, hardy, strong, and accustomed to fighting. The Greeks, on the other hand, had acted as a mere civic guard for nearly half a century, and the native Egyptians were still more unaccustomed to warfare, having seen but little active service¹ since the time of Psamatik I. It is not surprising, therefore, that the army of Egypt was defeated, and driven in headlong flight from the field; nor can we even wonder that no second stand was made in the open, since it must have been felt that the same causes which had given Persia the victory on the Pelusiac plain would secure her arms success in any other similar encounter.²

Nothing then remained for Psamatik but to place his troops behind walls, and see if in this way he could baffle or tire out the invaders. Memphis was a strong city, and, had it been well provisioned or able to maintain its communication with the sea, might have stood

¹ They had perhaps been employed against Tyre in 447 B.C. and had certainly served against Persia (Ch. xv. 150). They had also, according to Herodotus (1. 161), in the previous year, against the Persians and Carian mercenaries and defeated them. But they were not, as Herodotus remarks, and during the long reign of Amasis

they had probably never crossed the Nile with an army.

² Egypt has no strong positions, the Nile valley being never less than two miles in width, and the crabs on either side being large enough to eat of water indefatigably. Thus the fate of Egypt has been almost always decided by a single battle.

a prolonged siege.¹ But no special preparations for a siege seem to have been made, and Cambyses had taken care to bring with him a strong fleet,² which blockaded the mouths of the Nile, and even mounted the river to the vicinity of the capital.³ Thus it was impossible to continue the defence very long. After murdering the crew of a Greek vessel, sent to summon them to surrender, and thus deservedly incurring the extreme displeasure of Cambyses, the entire garrison, regarding resistance as hopeless, gave themselves up. Cambyses punished the deed of blood severely. He selected from the Egyptians who had surrendered themselves two thousand chief men—ten for each of the murdered Greeks⁴—and condemned them to be publicly executed. A son of the fallen monarch shared their fate. As for the king himself, it would seem that at first his life was spared,⁵ and that he was even treated with some favour; but it was not long before suspicion arose. Psamtik was accused of having taken part in a conspiracy against Cambyses, and was forthwith put to death. Thus perished this unfortunate monarch, the last of the long line of Pharaohs, which commencing with Menes, or at any rate with Senoferu,⁶ had ruled Egypt, as a great independent monarchy, for no less than twenty centuries.

It is not within the scope of the present history to pursue the fortunes of the Egyptian people any far-

¹ Under Artaxerxes Longimanus Memphis at least the capital stood a siege of considerably more than a year, even though the garrison with the king were cut off. (See Diod. Sic. ix. 74.)

² Herod. ii. 101, 110, 44.

³ Ibid. i. 3.

⁴ Ibid. i. 14.

⁵ Herodotus boasted that it was,

the intention of Cambyses, by sparing his life, to save Persia from civil war by giving him a son-in-law, who would have been as loyal and obedient as a brother to the king of Susa.

⁶ On the dates of the reigns of all Egyptian history, see below, p. 32.

ther. Frequent revolts characterised the period of their subjection to Persia, and from time to time it probably appeared to the people in themselves that the throne of the Pharaohs was re-established. But again and again the Persians proved their superiority in the field, and forced the Egyptians to submit to them. Thus during the Persian period—from B.C. 527 to A.D. 332—Egypt must be considered to have occupied, in the main, the position of a Persian province,¹ and her revolts and re-subjugations belong therefore to the history of Persia. The present writer, in his *Fifth Ancient Monarchy*, has already treated of them,² and the reader who desires to pursue the subject may be referred to that work for information.

Still, it remains to touch briefly upon the art and excavation of this final period, which have peculiar features not destitute of interest. The time is one of revival, and has been called ‘the Egyptian renaissance’³. Under the Ethiopians, and still more under the Assyrians, Egyptian art had declined, nay, had almost sunk into decay. Such indications of it as we possess are coarse and tinged with foreign ideas. It was an object of the Psammeticæ to re-establish a true native school. We have small remains of their architecture, but enough to show clearly that it went upon the old lines, and we know that it included colossal statues, obelisks, enormous pylons, pylonised courts,⁴ and the other main elements of early Egyptian architecture and effect. Some novelties in the ornamentation

¹ Herod. *Ancient Egypt*, p. 185. 4th ed. Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, I. *Le monument, Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. 1, p. 475.

² See the author's *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. 5, pp. 461-5, 471-30, 481-9, 534-6, 1st ed.

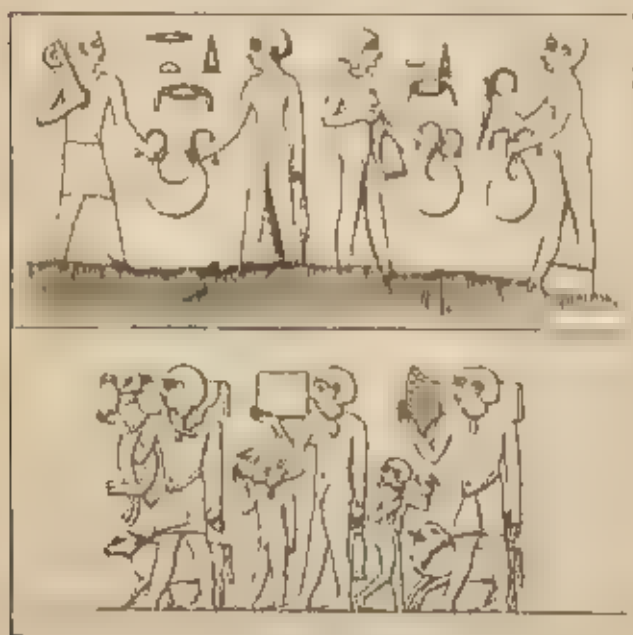
³ *Le monument, Manuel*, vol. 1, p.

404; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. 1, p. 271, 1st ed.

⁴ See Herod. l. c. 153, 160, 175, 176, and for the obelisks, see *Palmer's Egyptian Chronology*, vol. 1.

⁵ *Introduction*, p. 311.

imitations of living creatures the stamp of an incredible delicacy both of conception and execution. ¹ Wood-engraving is incapable of expressing such soft and tender treatment, ² but the accompanying illustrations will perhaps help to give some slight idea of



Bas-reliefs of Ptoemah I.

the art in question—of its beauty, delicacy, and approximation to the Greek type.

Similar refinement is observable in the statues and statuettes. The *Pastophorus* of the Vatican, the *Horus* of the Louvre, the bronze statuette of Ammon Arsaph,

¹ Brugsch *History of Egypt* 1:20

² The photographs of M. Mariette on the other hand, leave

nothing to be desired. (See the *Monuments Egyptiens*, p. 36.)

in the British Museum, the 'little statues, holding a shrine, of the Saite dignitary, Pitebbu,'¹ the 'famous cow of the celestial Hathor, and the statues of Osiris and Isis, the offerings of a certain Psamatik, which now form the admired master-pieces of the collection at Bouliq; the numberless standing images in bronze of the goddess Neith of Sais—these, and a hundred similar works of sculpture, furnish instructive examples of the refinement and delicacy of the monuments which came from the hands of the artists of this period.'² The proportions of the figures are defective, the limbs being too long and slim, the muscular development is but slightly indicated,³ and the whole result is wanting in strength and vigour, but grace, softness, tenderness characterise the period, and gave it a beauty and elegance which are 'charming.'⁴

But, while in artistic matters there was thus an effort—albeit only moderately successful—to return to antiquity and to produce works of an archaic type, in religion and in manners the spirit of the age was different, and exhibited an unwholesome craving after what was strange and novel. 'Beside the great established gods of the old Egyptian theology, there now came forward upon the monuments,' says Dr Brugsch,⁵ 'monstrous forms, the creations of a wildly roving fancy, which peopled the whole world—heaven, earth, and the aqueous and subterranean depths—with demons and geni of whom the older age with its pure doctrine had scarcely an idea.' By the time of Nectanebo I.

¹ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 222, 1st ed.

² *Ib.* 4.

³ *Leake, Travels in Greece*, p. 17.

⁴ Letourneau, *Manuel d'Histoire Antienne*, vol. i. p. 403.

⁵ *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. pp. 223 & 1st ed.

half the gods of the Pantheon were new,¹ and though this extreme development was the work of a later age than that of the Ptahmeticht, the spirit from which it proceeded was already abroad. Asia poured the fetid stream of her manifold superstitions into Africa, and to the old theology was added a wild and weird demonology which proved wonderfully attractive to the now degenerate Egyptians. At the same time the belief in magic and witchcraft became general. 'Exorcisms of the demons in all manner of forms, from wild beasts with their ravening teeth to the scorpion with his venomous sting, form henceforth a special science, which was destined to supersede the old and half lost traditional lore of past ages. The demon-soup of "The old man who regained his youth, the hoary one who became young again," the exorcisms of Thoth and the powers of witchcraft in league with him, are the favorite themes which cover the polished surfaces of the monuments of this remarkable time.'² Apis-worship became also more pronounced. Ever-increasing honours were paid to the sacred bull, as time went on. The tablets recording their birth, life, and burial grow in length,³ the ceremonies accompanying their sepulture become more complicated and more expensive,⁴ and the adornment of their tombs more magnificent. Granite sarcophagi were provided for them, and these were cut and polished with great care,⁵ they were

¹ See the *Transactions of the Society of Bibl. Archaeology*, vol. iii. pp. 426-9.

² Breghel *History of Egypt*, vol. II. p. 284, 1st ed.

³ See Mariette, *Strophéon de Memphis*, p. 24, and see particularly Breghel, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. pp. 285-8, 1st ed.

⁴ Breghel, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 176. Dioborus says (i. 54) that the cost was 1000000000000000000000, or 240000.

⁵ Mariette (*Chœur de Memnoniens*, p. 9), speaking of these sarcophagi, says 'Tous ont du grand poids et luisant.'

from twelve to thirteen feet high and from fifteen to eighteen feet long; the smallest did not weigh less than sixty-four tons.

Manners likewise suffered a transformation. The women were degraded by having the heavier forms of



Fig. 108. Ornament worn by a man of the Ptolemaic period, perhaps a chemi.

labour thrown upon them,¹ and were otherwise burdened and placed under restrictions.² The men were retrained by being cut off from military training, and from the bracing effects of active service both upon mind and body. National spirit was sapped by the devotion of the royal favour on a race of foreigners, to whom Egyptian customs and Egyptian ideas were abhorrent, and who no doubt openly showed their contempt for the unwarlike nation which had freed

¹ Herod. ii 35, Soph. *Med.* (cc. 350-4).

² Herod. l.c.c.

I have expected, and must be regarded as an indication of its having possessed an extraordinary force and power—a force and power which enabled it to rise from the grave after a trance of two centuries and become once more for nearly three hundred years a living entity.

APPENDIX.

NOTE A. (See p. 9.)

The fragments of the Turin 'Papyrus of the Kings,' after all the care and labour bestowed on them by Seyffarth,¹ Lepsius,² and Wilkinson,³ admit still of so much variety of arrangement, that only in a comparatively few cases can we compare with absolute certainty its statements as to the length of king's reigns with those of Manetho. In far the greater number of cases where such a comparison has been regarded as possible, the possibility rests upon a hypothetical arrangement of the fragments, which is more or less probable; and thus an element of uncertainty comes in. We shall therefore, in the subjoined comparative list, distinguish the certain from the doubtful cases by printing the former in italics. With regard to the latter, which are printed in the ordinary Roman type, we shall in each case give in a separate column the authority by whom the arrangement producing the result has been made.

¹ See his work *Therognosche Schrift der alten Aegypter nach dem Turiner Papyrus von ersten Abdruck* G. ha. 1855.

² Lepsius has arranged the fragments in his *Aegyptische Hieroglyphen*, zweite Auflage, Berlin 1860.

³ Wilkinson's work on the Turin papyrus is of the most elaborate character. He not only represents

in fac-simile the face of the MS., by giving the names and length of reigns of the kings, but gives the back also, which contains nothing as an entirely different subject but of great value towards determining the true position of many of the fragments. Another fac-simile edition, which I have not seen, was published by Playte and Rossi in 1854-70.

MARSHES, according to

TERRITORIES.

Names of Kings	Duration of Reign in Years			Names of Kings	Years	Months	Days	Authorities
	Yes	No	Yes					
2ND DYNASTY								
Nephtachene	25	—	—	Nubia-Sokari	3	3	0	De Rouge & Brugsch
Nechemis	48	48	48	Hutef	11	8	4	
Chetepet	—	—	40	Seti (1)	27	2	1	
3RD DYNASTY								
Nephtachene	25	—	—	Nubia	10	7	7	"
Toussikene	20	—	—	Sar	10	17	0	
4TH DYNASTY								
Hutef	25	—	—	—	10	0	0	Brugsch
Nechemis	67	—	—	—	0	0	0	
Sophtene II	68	—	—	—	0	0	0	"
Nechemis	65	—	—	—	74	0	0	
Hutef	25	—	—	—	23	0	0	"
Nechemis	23	—	—	—	24	0	0	
Seti (1)	7	—	—	—	8	0	0	"
5TH DYNASTY								
Nechemis	23	—	—	—	10	0	0	"
Nechemis	12	—	—	—	4	0	0	
Nechemis	90	—	—	—	0	0	0	"
Nechemis	7	—	—	—	7	0	0	
Hutef	30	—	—	—	12	0	0	"
Hutef	41	—	—	—	7	0	0	
6TH DYNASTY								
Nechemis	9	—	—	Nechemis	21	0	0	"
Toussikene	44	—	—	Tar	28	0	0	
Osire	43	—	—	Osire	30	0	0	"
7TH DYNASTY								
Osire	30	—	—	—	—	—	—	De Rouge & Brugsch
Thut	63	—	—	—	7	6	21	
—	—	—	—	—	30	0	0	"
Nechemis	7	—	—	—	74	0	0	
Nechemis	64	—	—	—	90	0	0	"
Nechemis	1	—	—	—	1	1	0	

Blanco, according to





















Третья Часть

NAME OF KING	REVENUE			NAME OF KING	YEARS	MONTHS	DAYS	ADDITIONAL
	1870	1871	1872					
20th Dynasty								
Amenhotep III	16	16	16					
Amenhotep IV	46	46	46					
Amenhotep V	20	20	20					
Amenhotep VI	40	40	40					
Amenhotep VII	8	8	8					
Amenhotep VIII	8	8	8					
Amenhotep IX	42	42	42					
Amenhotep X	4							

NOTE: It is noted that of the thirty-seven persons estimated by the author to be due to take the above-mentioned voyage, only one is known to have taken it. The other thirty-six persons are persons who have since passed away. The number of the persons who have since passed away is less than fifty.


NOTE B. (See p. 371.)


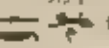
Most Egyptologists accept the identifications of Du Rougé, and regard the Tanians as Damians, the Sûriten as Sardanius, the Shékush as Sakians or Sictians, the Tulush as Tuscani, the Iushuh as Iosani, the Purnata as Pelasgians, and the Tekari as Teucrians. But there is scarcely any case, excepting the last, where the identification is etymologically satisfactory.

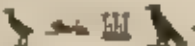
Tānanāna, —  —  —  —  —  —  —  —  —  —  —  —  —  —  —  —  —  —  —  —  — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — <

¹ Choisy, *Recherches*, pp. 35-50; Birc, *Antiquities of Egypt*, pp. 178-82; *Manuscript in Records of the Past*, vol. viii, p. 47; M. Lœffig, *agrees as far as the Danube, Scythians, Sarmatians, and Turans are concerned*; *Manuscript in History of the Danube*, vol. i, p. 440.

ill with the short Cretan alpha. The *a* is altogether superfluous, as also is the *n* of the final syllable. By saying that *Támanna* represents the 'Dannan,' this surplussage is concealed, since 'Dannan' has no *n*; but the *-an* is an English adjectival ending, to which there is no equivalent in the Greek *Danaoi*. It has been sought to remove the objection from the double *a* by supposing *Dannu*, and not *Dana*, to be meant,¹ but the second *a* remains superfluous in this case no less than in the other.

Saaratun, . Here again the final *n* is superfluous. The people of Sardinia were known to the Romans always as *Sardi*, to the Greeks generally as 'Sardoi';² it is true the Greeks called them 'Sardanoi' occasionally;³ but their own name for themselves is likely to have had a form like the Latin.

Shektasha, . In this word the *ast* two signs are superfluous. In *Sikeloi*, *Sikelai*, there is no second *n*, and the best Egyptian equivalent would be *Sheklu*, or rather *Seklu*,  there being no necessity of changing the initial *s* into *sh*.⁴

Tutasha, . The lion may no doubt be read as *r* no less than as *t*; and *Turasha* may be the proper articulation. It is said that the word well represents the *Tures* of the Romans, or still better the *Turce*, *Turacar*, of the Egyptian Tablets.⁵ We are told, however, that the *Tuscans* or *Etruscans* called themselves *Ruscina*,⁶ so that the initial *t* would appear not to be a root letter of the name.

¹ Oshaz, *Archæologia*, p. 30.

² Herod. i. 170, v. 190. &c.

Seylaz, *Impt.* § 7. Simbo, v. 3 § 6, &c.


³ Mr. Rumbury in the *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography* (vol. ii. p. 1837) gives *Sardanoi* as the only Greek ethnic form.



But *Sardanoi* is found in Herodotus vi. 145.


⁴ The objection holds good also in the case of the *Sharden*, *Turasha*, and *Tashah*.

⁵ Oshaz, *Archæologia*, p. 47.

⁶ Danyk Haz. *Antiq. Rom.* i. 30.

Ushashtu, . If the name 'Useri' is a contracted form of 'Opseri' (through Opseru),¹ and *p* consequently a root letter of the name, we should expect the *p* to appear in an Egyptian representation of the word bearing date about B.C. 1300. Further, the second *sh* is superfluous, 'Useri' having one *s* only.

Purushata, . Here the difficulty is admitted to be considerable, since, if the Pelasgi are meant, the *t* of the last syllable is inexplicable. It is true that the Egyptians had no *g*; but they had several forms of *k*, and would naturally have expressed the *g* in Pelasgi by one of them.² There would also have been no reason why they should have used the long *u*, , to express the Greek epsilon in Πηλασγοί. These grounds of objection to the proposed identification are so strong, that many think them insuperable, and suggest that the *Purushata* are really the Phylotades,³ φιλώτες, Φιλοστειναι, whom they suppose to have migrated from Crete at this time, and, after their repulse by Rameses, to have been settled by him in Gaza, Ashdod, and Ascalon. This view, however, if free from etymological, is beset by historical difficulties;⁴ and the result is that the *Purushata*, like most of the other tribes named, remain an enigma for future ages to untiddle.

Tekaru, . The identification of the Tekaru with the Teucri (Τεῦκροι) is wholly unobjectionable. Etymologically the two words are exact equivalents, while historically the Teucri are known as powerful and bold adventurers, dissatisfied with their old settlements in Asia, and desirous of spreading themselves into remote countries. The Teucrian

¹ As Niebuhr argued, *History of Rome*, vi. i. p. 100. L. T. on the authority of the grammarians Pseudo-Isidore and others (see above).

² As they are used by Herodotus, Megasthenes, Strabo, &c.

Given by Qashta, Medjed by Mah-tal, &c.

³ See Lepsius, *Monatsh. d. Histor. Gesellsch.*, vol. i. p. 438.

⁴ These are well pointed out by M. Chabas, *Recherches*, pp. 40-7.

and Mysian invasion of Europe, mentioned by Herodotus,¹ which began at the Canal of Constantinople and ended at the Adriatic, is a fair parallel to the expedition of the Tektari and Piruata in the eleventh year of Rameses III., which began in Asia Minor and terminated on the confines of Egypt.

The argument which has the greatest force in favour of the proposed identifications is the cumulative one. While, severally and separately considered, the identifications are in almost every case doubtful, they lend support to each other by the way in which they blend into an harmonious whole. No counter theory has been proposed which is nearly so plausible. Dr. Brugsch's 'Carian-Libyan' invasion, in which the natives proceeded from Armenia and Cilicia, partly by land through Asia Minor, and partly by water on the Mediterranean,² in which the Libyans are the Gassites of the Caucasus,³ the Tektari and the Piruata Zygnites and Prosodians from Cyprus,⁴ the Turusha people of Mount Taurus,⁵ the Sharruten Colchis-Caucasians, and the Shekharia the people of Zagylis,⁶ has no coherency, and approves itself to no one. In the theory of De Rouge,⁷ adopted by M. Chabas and Dr. Birch, there is the double charm of consistency and of surpassing interest. The nations form a group, widely dispersed yet still continuous, extending from Sardinia and Sicily on the one hand to north-eastern Asia Minor on the other. They represent the chief nations of those parts and leave no manifest gap. The parts, by land and sea, are distributed as we might expect. And the result is that most minds accept the view as probably not far from the truth. They delight to think that the European nations, so far back as the thirteenth century B.C., showed signs of their inherent vigour, possessed fleets, fought naval battles,

¹ Herod. vii. 20. Compare v. 18.

² *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 147. 1st ed.

³ *Ibid.* p. 140.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 151.

⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 123-5.

⁶ *Ibid.*

and contended with the most advanced and the most powerful of then existing monarchies. They cannot but feel that the entire subject is encompassed with difficulties, but the theory which has been put forth attracts them, and they embrace it with entire satisfaction. If it is not true it ought to be. *De non e reo e ben trovato.*

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Errata in Vol. I.

- Page 140, line 19, for  read 
" 141, " 14, 16, 17, for  read 

Errata in Vol. II

Page 12, line 9, for 'twenty five' read 'a netoon' and modify the following numbers accordingly.

- " 291, " 32 for 'Thothmes IV.' read 'Thothmes III'
" 41 " 29 for 'an incensation' read 'incensations.'
" 99, note 1, line 1, for 'and Sahara' read 'Sahara, and Hammer.'
" 143, line 25, for 'that frontier' read 'the frontier'
" 320, " 11, for 'Moses' read 'Joseph.'
" 422, " 2, for 7 read 6.

Addendum to Vol. II

Pages 107 and 110. Since the earlier part of this volume was printed off, the pyramids of Papi, and his son, Meneha, have been identified. They belong, as might have been expected, to the Sakkarah group, and correspond to Nos. 1 and 2 on General Howard Vyse's plan. The superstructural masonry, which contained the bodies of the kings, are covered with cartouches of a religious and funeral character.

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China, 1940-1945. This period of
foreign domination in the 1940s
was a time of intense political
struggle between the Nationalist
Government and the Chinese
Communist Party. The Nationalist
Government was the official
government of China, but it was
overthrown by the Chinese
Communist Party in 1949. The
Nationalist Government fled to
Taiwan in 1949 and continued to
claim to be the official government
of China until 1971. The Chinese
Communist Party established the
People's Republic of China in
1949 and has since been the
official government of China.

Project in progress. Its primary objective is to develop a curriculum for the training of teachers in the use of the computer in the classroom. The project is being carried out by the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Science and Technology, and the Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research.

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1-27-68, Mr. [redacted] arrived
at [redacted] where [redacted]
[redacted]

Printed at the Government Press, Calcutta.

1. The purpose of the Department of
 2. Health is to protect the health of
 3. the community and to prevent the
 4. spread of disease. It is the
 5. responsibility of the Department to
 6. ensure that the health of the
 7. community is protected and that
 8. the health of the individual is
 9. maintained. The Department is
 10. responsible for the health of the

$\{ \mathbf{u}_1, \mathbf{u}_2, \mathbf{u}_3, \mathbf{u}_4, \mathbf{u}_5, \mathbf{u}_6, \mathbf{u}_7, \mathbf{u}_8, \mathbf{u}_9, \mathbf{u}_{10}, \mathbf{u}_{11}, \mathbf{u}_{12}, \mathbf{u}_{13}, \mathbf{u}_{14}, \mathbf{u}_{15}, \mathbf{u}_{16}, \mathbf{u}_{17}, \mathbf{u}_{18}, \mathbf{u}_{19}, \mathbf{u}_{20}, \mathbf{u}_{21}, \mathbf{u}_{22}, \mathbf{u}_{23}, \mathbf{u}_{24}, \mathbf{u}_{25}, \mathbf{u}_{26}, \mathbf{u}_{27}, \mathbf{u}_{28}, \mathbf{u}_{29}, \mathbf{u}_{30}, \mathbf{u}_{31}, \mathbf{u}_{32}, \mathbf{u}_{33}, \mathbf{u}_{34}, \mathbf{u}_{35}, \mathbf{u}_{36}, \mathbf{u}_{37}, \mathbf{u}_{38}, \mathbf{u}_{39}, \mathbf{u}_{40}, \mathbf{u}_{41}, \mathbf{u}_{42}, \mathbf{u}_{43}, \mathbf{u}_{44}, \mathbf{u}_{45}, \mathbf{u}_{46}, \mathbf{u}_{47}, \mathbf{u}_{48}, \mathbf{u}_{49}, \mathbf{u}_{50}, \mathbf{u}_{51}, \mathbf{u}_{52}, \mathbf{u}_{53}, \mathbf{u}_{54}, \mathbf{u}_{55}, \mathbf{u}_{56}, \mathbf{u}_{57}, \mathbf{u}_{58}, \mathbf{u}_{59}, \mathbf{u}_{60}, \mathbf{u}_{61}, \mathbf{u}_{62}, \mathbf{u}_{63}, \mathbf{u}_{64}, \mathbf{u}_{65}, \mathbf{u}_{66}, \mathbf{u}_{67}, \mathbf{u}_{68}, \mathbf{u}_{69}, \mathbf{u}_{70}, \mathbf{u}_{71}, \mathbf{u}_{72}, \mathbf{u}_{73}, \mathbf{u}_{74}, \mathbf{u}_{75}, \mathbf{u}_{76}, \mathbf{u}_{77}, \mathbf{u}_{78}, \mathbf{u}_{79}, \mathbf{u}_{80}, \mathbf{u}_{81}, \mathbf{u}_{82}, \mathbf{u}_{83}, \mathbf{u}_{84}, \mathbf{u}_{85}, \mathbf{u}_{86}, \mathbf{u}_{87}, \mathbf{u}_{88}, \mathbf{u}_{89}, \mathbf{u}_{90}, \mathbf{u}_{91}, \mathbf{u}_{92}, \mathbf{u}_{93}, \mathbf{u}_{94}, \mathbf{u}_{95}, \mathbf{u}_{96}, \mathbf{u}_{97}, \mathbf{u}_{98}, \mathbf{u}_{99}, \mathbf{u}_{100} \}$

$\Delta^{\circ}H_{\text{f}}^{\circ}$ + H₂O(l) = -91.8 kJ/mol ΔG° = -60.1 kJ/mol

1. 9-12... 76 7... 11-10...
 2. 11-10... 76 7... 11-10...
 3. 11-10... 76 7... 11-10...

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1. The first part of the book is devoted to the study of the structure of the algebra of differential operators on a manifold. The author shows that the algebra of differential operators on a manifold is isomorphic to the algebra of differential operators on a certain space of functions. This result is proved by using the theory of differential equations and the theory of differential operators.

Josephine Burdett, 1892

$$P^1 = \{x, y, z, d, e, f, g, h\}$$
[illegible]

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Prisoners of war, treatment of, L
4-4244.5

Principles, some of battle knights
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1. The first step is to identify the problem or question that needs to be answered. This involves understanding the context and the specific requirements of the task.

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...income, 10. 1. 1881

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840.

$$\begin{aligned} & \frac{1}{2} \left(\frac{1}{2} \right) = \frac{1}{4} \\ & \frac{1}{2} \left(\frac{1}{2} \right) = \frac{1}{4} \\ & \frac{1}{2} \left(\frac{1}{2} \right) = \frac{1}{4} \\ & \frac{1}{2} \left(\frac{1}{2} \right) = \frac{1}{4} \end{aligned}$$

length of his range, 2. 12; across-

with $\alpha_1, \alpha_2 \in \mathbb{R}$ and $\alpha_1 + \alpha_2 = 1$. The
 probability of the first jump to the
 state i is $\alpha_1 p_{1i}$ and the probability of the
 second jump to the state i is $\alpha_2 p_{2i}$.

of the region, it is necessary

有面客

The above is a list of the names of the
 persons who have been appointed to the
 various committees of the Board of
 Directors of the City of New York, for
 the year 1901. The names are given in
 alphabetical order, and the committees to
 which they are assigned are indicated by
 the numbers in parentheses. The names of
 the members of the Board of Directors
 are given in the list of names at the
 end of the report.

```

# 11. Use a MapReduce job to calculate the
#    number of times each word appears in
#    the text.
#    The input is the text file, and the
#    output is a list of words and their
#    counts.
#    The word counts should be printed in
#    descending order.

```

... a ... of ...

So the \mathbb{Q} -rank of G is 1. The \mathbb{Q} -rank of G is 1.

$\log_2 10 \approx 3.32$

[illegible]

The first of these is the fact that the
 second of the two is the first of the two
 and the third of the two is the first of the two.

[illegible]

4115

[illegible][illegible]

$\mu_1 = \mu_2 = \dots = \mu_n = \mu$
 $\mu_1 = \mu_2 = \dots = \mu_n = \mu$
 $\mu_1 = \mu_2 = \dots = \mu_n = \mu$

$$\begin{aligned} \gamma_1 &= \frac{1}{2} \left(\frac{1}{\gamma_1} + \frac{1}{\gamma_2} \right) \left(\frac{1}{\gamma_1} + \frac{1}{\gamma_2} \right) \left(\frac{1}{\gamma_1} + \frac{1}{\gamma_2} \right) \left(\frac{1}{\gamma_1} + \frac{1}{\gamma_2} \right) \left(\frac{1}{\gamma_1} + \frac{1}{\gamma_2} \right) \\ &= \frac{1}{2} \left(\frac{1}{\gamma_1} + \frac{1}{\gamma_2} \right) \left(\frac{1}{\gamma_1} + \frac{1}{\gamma_2} \right) \left(\frac{1}{\gamma_1} + \frac{1}{\gamma_2} \right) \left(\frac{1}{\gamma_1} + \frac{1}{\gamma_2} \right) \left(\frac{1}{\gamma_1} + \frac{1}{\gamma_2} \right) \end{aligned}$$

2011年12月10日
 2011年12月10日

[illegible]

Sakubutsu-ra (see Sakubutep V.)
Sakubutsu-ra Hime no Yatai no Uchi ni

The Helweg Shovel, H. 25.
Shovels, taken as follows, H. 210.

1944

Charnabulakula, mayatig muna q

Sept. 11, 1871

Sin-*seu*-*ra* (see *Nefur-holup*)
 Sin-*shu* (see *Ti-chung* IV.)

82. Use the law of cosines to find c .

11. How attached to the
theater is the association of the

enrollment of, in the time of Her-

L. 288, settlement of, by Municipality, on 1888, part of 1888

2010-11-11 11:11:11

1.2.5b. *quantifier* = '1' or '2'

Sung, 17th of the, 151

NILE

and one of, 175; wild, 71; mixed
4. 100, 111, 8 rounded as food,

Shoklacha, a people. IL 2301, 071;
Identification of 514

Excerpt from the 11th

4. $\frac{1}{2} \leq \frac{a}{b} \leq \frac{3}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{2} \leq \frac{c}{d} \leq \frac{3}{2}$.

Elizabeth, wife of Isaac H. J., 11.
1855. 171

Amphipods, two dynastes of, introduced in the Eastern Delta concurrently with the thirteenth, D. 1850.

$$E: \{0, 1, \dots, 15\} \rightarrow \{0, 1, \dots, 15\} \text{ is a permutation. (are } \\ \{0, 1, \dots, 15\} \text{)}$$
[illegible]

For the purpose of this study, the following hypotheses were formulated:

Sublime e puerile a Tanto inteso,

See also 60-10897

Don't let a country identify itself with the
label of Communist.

10

Sold native name of the scaplin
Aug 1. 57

S. caudata allied with *Bombus*, n.

24. Penicillium, a genus of Fungi

1. The connection of the with the

And, in fact, the same is true of

1. 317, maintained from the
beginning of the 19th century
to the next year, 1850-1851,
317, is temporary residence
of the 1st. It is also open to
the 2nd. The 3rd, the 4th,
5th and 6th, are the 1st.

सिद्धिपति १००० ॥ १००० ॥

S. + n. Egevan, 1 450. 437

Sioux Falls, S. D., sample of 100.

L. No: started of sand by Thob-

Journal of Management Education 36(8)

29. 10. 1944. 10. 1944. 10. 1944. 10. 1944.

Notes: Many ls. present on the sculpture
of the 1st. and 2nd. segs. 356 m.

98111-1036 P42 p. 7123. P42F 2 601, 434

[illegible]

Here, tabulation of, by the Egypt-

[illegible]
$$S_{\text{eff}} = S_{\text{eff}}^{\text{free}} + S_{\text{eff}}^{\text{int}} + S_{\text{eff}}^{\text{ext}}$$

See entry above of, when the
N. 12 1/2 W., cutting of, and
dist. 11. 11

Steno, *spotted*, on the Atlantic

St. Louis, Mo., August 1, 1901.

... ..
... ..
... ..

2540-4000 of the Egyptian

1. The first step is to identify the problem or question that needs to be answered. This involves understanding the context and the specific requirements of the task.

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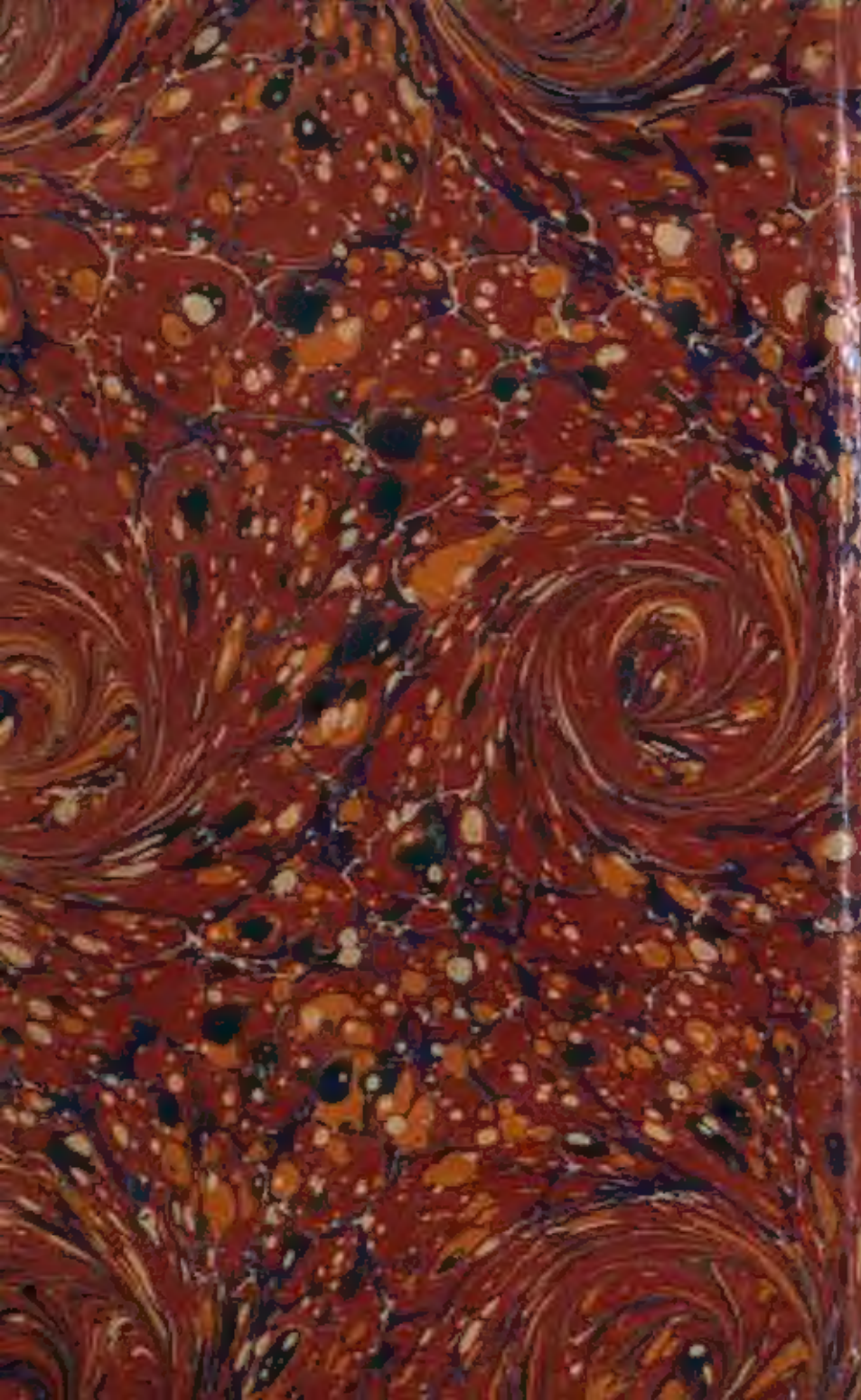
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